Constructing play frames and social identities : the case of a linguistically and culturally mixed peer group

Lytra, Vasiliki

Constructing play frames and social identities: the case of a linguistically and culturally mixed peer group in an Athenian primary school

Vasiliki Lytra

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

King's College London

2003

Abstract

This thesis explores how, through the use of playful talk in discourse, the members of a linguistically and culturally mixed peer group comprised of Greek-Turkish bilinguals and Greek-speaking monolinguals (Greek-majority language, Turkish- minority language) construct play frames and social identities, including a mixed peer group identity, in an Athenian primary school. The data consists of tape-recorded interactions among the peer group members, their teachers and the researcher across different contexts at school. The analytical framework draws on interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis and it is further enhanced by insights from ethnography as a process of inquiry and its conceptualisation of culture as a system of practices. This thesis has identified six contexts at school where play frames are produced. Based on combinations of school-imposed features, these contexts are further classified into two categories: institutionally oriented contexts and non-institutionally oriented contexts. A key finding is that peer group members employ mixed resources as contextualisation cues to construct play frames in contact encounters, notably cues mostly from the majority (Greek) as well as a limited set of cues from the minority (Turkish) languages and cultures and from the English foreign language taught at school. The data analysis demonstrates that, as a rule, peer group members employ similar cues across contexts, with the exception of whole-group classroom interactions, in which they avoid using cues that require teachers sharing peer group background knowledge in order to understand and interpret them playfully. Although peer group members occasionally contest the production of play frames, overall, they sustain them across contexts. Consequently, in non-institutionally oriented contexts play frames are introduced in talk either as main frames or against a backdrop of task-related frames. In institutionally oriented contexts, however, play frames are seldom initiated as main frames, but emerge as parallel, embedded or forked frames. The examination of playful talk and play frames provides a window into the processes of social identity construction at school. To this end, the data analysis reveals that peer group members engage in two macro-processes (conversion and diversion) and six micro-processes (sharing, appropriating, transforming, localising, contesting and mixing), which lead to the construction of a mixed peer group identity and its small culture. The research provides insights into the interplay between playful talk, play frames and social identity construction in contact encounters at school in response to the increasing linguistic and cultural diversity that characterises present day Greek society.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Alexandra Georgakopoulou, for her solid advice and continual support throughout my research. I would also like to thank Philip Carabott and David Ricks as well as my fellow PhD. students at the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, King's College, London, with whom I shared various aspects of my research. A very special word of thanks goes to the head teacher and the teachers and pupils of the 87th primary school of Votanikos (Gazi), in Athens Greece, where I conducted the fieldwork and data collection. I am indebted to Martha Floratou, Dimitri Katsari, Vicky Lagopoulou, Gianni Nicolaou, Ilia Migardou, Dora Tsiagkani, Eleni Hafti and, in particular, Soula Dimitriou, for their invaluable insights into the school and its pupils. In addition, a special thanks goes to the 4th grade peer group members, who are the principle actors in this study, notably, Tuncay, Babis, Giannis, Nontas, Bahrye, Husein, Costas, Meltem, Fanis, Vasia and Maria, and who taught me so much about playful talk at school. This research would not have been possible without them.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Saripolos Foundation (University of Athens) as well as to the Arts and Humanities Research Board for their generous financial assistance.

I am also grateful to all those who have directly or indirectly contributed to this thesis: In Athens, I would like to thank Costas Magos, Gül Fıdan, Mata and Costas Varlas, who helped me to gain access to the Greek Muslim community of Gazi; the Ovali and Ali Osman families for their generous hospitality; Selami Husein and Georgos Athanasopoulos for their invaluable contribution in my understanding of the complexities of life in Gazi. I would also like to thank Anna Frangoudaki, Thalia Dragona, Alexandra Androussou and Nelly Askouni, all of the University of Athens and the Educational Reform Project for the Muslim Minority of Thrace. I would also like to thank Eleni Sella-Mazi of the Ionio University, Mary Sifianou, Dimitra Theofanopoulou-Kontou and Panagiotis Kontos, all of the University of Athens, and Anna Iordanidou of the University of Patras, for valuable discussions at various stages of the research. Finally, I would like to thank the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs for granting me permission to conduct research in the 87th primary school of Votanikos (Gazi).

In London, I would like to extend my thanks to the following people for insightful comment on my research: Ben Rampton and the Discourse in Social Interaction group, at King's College, London; Eve Gregory, Charmian Kenner and Ann Williams and my fellow research students in

the Research Support Group in Cross-Cultural Issues in Education at UCL along with members of the Linguistic Ethnography in the UK research group. At SOAS, I owe a debt to Bengi Rona and George Dedes for providing me with the opportunity to continue studying Turkish at the Department of Middle Eastern Studies. In Washington DC, I would like to thank Andrea Tyler and James Alatis of Georgetown University for their continuous encouragement.

Last but not least, a very special thanks goes to my family for their unfailing love, guidance and patience throughout my studies: my mother Sophia Papaefthymiou-Lytra, my father Chrysanthos Lytras, my brother Christos Lytras and my husband Andreas Massouras. I am profoundly indebted to all of them.

To my parents

Table of contents

List of tables

List of figures

The preliminaries

Constructing play frames and social identities

0.0 Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to explore how the members of a linguistically and culturally mixed peer group comprised of Greek-Turkish bilinguals and Greek-speaking monolinguals (Greek- majority language, Turkish- minority language) communicate among themselves, with their teachers and the researcher, by exploiting playful talk, in an Athenian primary school. The thesis probes into how, through playful talk, peer group members construct play frames and social identities. These include aspects of the peer group members' linguistic and cultural identities (including that of a linguistically and culturally mixed peer group), their gender and youth identities as well as identities, such as those of 'the pupil', 'the teacher', 'the foreign/second language learner' and 'the researcher'.

The focus of the thesis on playful talk in discourse is motivated by its salience in naturally-occurring interactions across different contexts at school. For the purpose of this thesis, playful talk is viewed as a super ordinate category that encompasses the following verbal activities: (1) teasing; (2) name-calling; (3) joking; (4) word play and (5) a range of performance-oriented phenomena (see 1.7). The significance of playful talk in the data is contrasted with the limited attention sociolinguistic research in general has allocated to this topic in the school setting (e.g. Eder 1991, 1993, 1995; Tholander 2002). As a result, by probing into the emergence of playful talk in naturally-occurring

interactions at school, this study attempts to readdress an apparent gap in sociolinguistic literature.

One of the most important loci for the examination of playful talk is the peer group (Corsaro & Eder 1990). In the thesis, the 4th grade peer group becomes the site where extensive linguistic and cultural contact takes place. Through playful talk, peer group members exchange, appropriate, transform and reproduce aspects of their linguistic and cultural resources as contextualization cues to build play frames. Following Goffman (1974), 'frames' are regarded as mechanisms through which participants structure their social and personal experiences (: 10-11). To interpret the intended frame, participants send cues to each other that indicate how a given utterances should be understood (ibid).

In this context, to construct play frames, participants send cues to each other with the message 'this is play' (Bateson 1972: 179) (see 1.3, 1.7). It is demonstrated that the linguistic and cultural resources, which generate the necessary cues to build play frames, are drawn from the majority and minority languages and cultures, the institutional culture of the school and the emergent, locally-conditioned, 'small' cultures (Holliday 1999: 237) of the 4th grade peer group and 4th grade class [1] (see 1.3, 4.5- 4.5.8).

Simultaneously, the peer group is transformed into an arena where, through playful talk, its members construct, negotiate and contest social identity ascriptions and communicate meaningful social relations (chapter 7).

[1] For the purpose of this thesis, the 4th grade peer group is confined to peer group members only, while the 4th grade class includes both pupils and teachers.

0.1 Motivation for the thesis

My involvement with Greek-Turkish bilingual children residing in the centre of Athens was the outcome of a combination of personal and professional interests. In the winter of 1996, a good friend of mine suggested that I join a non-profit volunteer organisation ('Πρόγραμμα Εθελοντικής Εργασίας του Δήμου της Αθήνας', 'The Volunteer Programme of the Municipality of Athens'), which provided Greek language support classes to children whose home language was one other than Greek. This particular organisation was active in an area of Athens with a substantial Greek Muslim community (see 3.1- 3.1.6, for an ethnographic account). Given my long-standing interest in Turkish language and culture, I was intrigued by the composition of this community and immediately joined the ranks of volunteer tutors to teach Greek and English [2].

In the next 19 months, I worked with a number of children of different ages and proficiencies. The personal and learning experiences I shared with them became the point of departure for this study. Having seen them interact with one another outside the school setting (e.g. in the local community centre and in their homes), in predominantly homogeneous linguistic and cultural groupings, I was keen to explore how they interacted at school, where linguistic and cultural contact was expected to take place.

The rationale for selecting the school as the site for research was motivated by the fact that for school-age children the most important arena where extensive linguistic and cultural contact takes place is the primary school. It is there where majority and minority members come into daily contact and interact over extended periods of time. As a result,

[2] In Greek state schools, English is taught as a foreign language from 4th grade onwards.

in such a setting, it is possible to examine different linguistic and cultural groups not as self-contained, homogeneous entities, but in relation to and as they interact with one another (Pratt 1987: 57).

For the purpose of this thesis, in the winter of 1999, I set out to do my fieldwork and collect data in the local, state primary school. During my fieldwork, I started observing that children made extensive use of references from the media and youth popular cultures with which I was not familiar and they employed nicknames whose meaning was obscure to me. Moreover, they never seemed to stop teasing, calling each other names and giggling. Such 'marginal' linguistic and cultural phenomena triggered my personal and analytical interests, thereby leading to the investigation of playful talk, play frames and social identities at school.

0.2 Research assumptions and questions

The following research assumptions became the point of departure for the examination of playful talk, play frames and social identities at school:

- Sociolinguistic research on contact encounters at school has indicated that such occasions provide fertile ground for the exchange of resources among members of linguistically and culturally mixed groups (Heller 1999; Rampton 1995).
- Greek-Turkish bilinguals have a wide range of resources available to them due to their participation in the majority and minority languages and cultures as well as their exposure to English language instruction at school. Greek-speaking monolinguals have access to languages and cultures other than their own, as a

result of their contact with Turkish-speaking peers and exposure to foreign language instruction (cf. Jørgensen 2002).

- The school as an institution and the teachers as its representatives play an active role in shaping these contact situations and the types of resources that become available (Heller 1999).
- Linguistic and cultural resources surface in playful talk as contextualization cues to construct play frames at school (cf. Straehle 1993 in encounters among friends).

These assumptions generated the following main research questions:

1. What are the interactional contexts where playful talk emerges in discourse? What are the different types of playful talk generated?
2. What are the linguistic and cultural resources that surface in playful talk as cues to construct play frames?
3. How are play frames sequentially and interactionally produced? What are the types of cues and sequencing rules employed to initiate, sustain (or contest) and bring play frames to a close? What is the relationship between play frames and other types of frames produced in talk at school? What kinds of 'participation frameworks' (Goffman 1974) do interactants develop and what types of responses to playful talk do they produce?
4. What social identities do participants oreint to, via playful talk, at school?

Moreover, these assumptions raise a secondary research question that is particularly associated with the institutional setting of the school. This research question, however, is

not explored in depth in this thesis; it is only briefly addressed in the concluding discussion:

5. What kind of pedagogical implications can be drawn from the study of playful talk, play frames and social identity construction at school, regarding bilingual/bicultural teaching and learning, the role of teachers, syllabus and materials design and teacher training?

To explore these research questions, I have undertaken an ethnographic description of the minority community in which members of the peer group partake (3.1- 3.1.6). Moreover, I have provided a similar account of the school as the setting and the peer group as the site of contact (3.2- 3.4.3). Through out the thesis, aspects of these ethnographies are brought forth to illuminate the analysis and interpretation of the data.

0.3 Organisation of the thesis

I proceed with an overview of the organisation of the thesis, in order to illustrate how these research questions are addressed:

Chapter 1 situates the present study in the growing research on linguistic minorities and bilingual/multilingual schools in Greece. In addition, it introduces and discusses the major analytical concepts of this study, by drawing on insights from interactional sociolinguistics, conversation analysis and ethnography. It demonstrates how key concepts from these research traditions as well as findings from the literature on peer groups, playful talk, framing talk and identity construction inform this study.

Chapter 2 presents the research design and data collection methods. Moreover, it addresses issues arising from the relationship between the researcher and researched, notably the issue of 'the observer's paradox' (Milroy, Li & Moffat 1991) as well as the roles and identities the researcher juggled in the field.

Chapter 3 provides an ethnographic description of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi, the school where the research was undertaken and the peer group. As mentioned (0.2), these ethnographic descriptions form a significant part of the contextual backbone for understanding, analysing and interpreting playful talk, play frames and identity construction at school.

Chapter 4 identifies four contextual parameters that determine the emergence of playful talk across six contexts. These are discussed in light of the concept of degrees of institutionality of the interactions and are further categorised into institutionally oriented contexts and non-institutionally oriented contexts (research question 1). Furthermore, this chapter explores the different types of playful talk peer group members produce (research question 1) and the linguistic and cultural resources they employ as cues to build play frames (research question 2).

Chapter 5 investigates non-institutionally oriented contexts and explores in depth two verbal activities (teasing and name-calling) that emerge as the second and third most frequent activities in the data respectively. This chapter illustrates how peer group members develop play frames sequentially and interactionally. It demonstrates the types of cues, sequencing rules, responses to playful talk and participation frameworks they employ (research question 3).

Chapter 6 examines institutionally oriented contexts and focuses on two types of talk during whole-group instructional interactions (private pupil-pupil talk and public teacher-pupil talk). The chapter explores the loci where play frames arise in discourse and their relationship with instructional frames, namely lesson and class management frames. Moreover, it probes into the cues peer and the responses to playful talk group members and their teachers employ. It shows that, through shifts in 'footing' (Goffman 1981), which are achieved via the manipulation of these cues, participants project different alignment vis-à-vis each other and the types of playful talk they generate (research question 3).

Drawing on findings from the previous chapters (3-6), **chapter 7** explores, how, through playful talk, peer group members make social identities relevant. This chapter investigates the peer group members' respective cultural identities and their linguistically and culturally mixed peer group identity. It also explores their social identities associated with gender, youth popular cultures and the media as well as those of the 'pupil' and 'second/foreign language learner'. Lastly, it investigates how teachers and the researcher construct their social identities vis-à-vis the peer group members (research question 4).

The concluding chapter reviews the key findings of the thesis, identifies its contributions, including pedagogical implications that can be drawn, and suggests directions for future research (research question 5).

Chapter one

Setting the scene - Research concepts and issues

1.0 Introduction

In chapter 1, I ground this study in a review of the growing research on linguistic minorities and (bi)miltilingual schools, in Greece (1.1-1.2). I discuss the two discourse-based approaches, namely interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis, and the relevance of ethnography in understanding, analysing and interpreting playful talk, play frames and social identity construction at school (1.3-1.4). Finally, I illustrate how key concepts from these research traditions and findings from the literature on peer groups, playful talk, framing talk and social identity construction inform this study (1.5-1.8).

1.1 Linguistic minorities in Greece: an overview

Research on linguistic minorities in Greece has been triggered by the increasing cultural and linguistic diversity that characterises present day Greek society (see relevant articles in Lafazani 1997; Tsitsilikis & Christopoulos 1997). Although immigrants from Asia and Africa and Greek expatriates (from the US, Canada, Australia, South Africa, Germany and Eastern Europe) had started moving to Greece since the early '70s, from the mid-80s onwards this movement took significant impetus. Due to socio-political and economic changes in Eastern Europe and the former USSR, large numbers of ethnic Greeks, especially from Albania and the former USSR, started moving to Greece. Moreover, while Greece had traditionally been the country of origin of scores of immigrants during the '50s and '60s, as of the mid-80s, it has become the host country of thousands of

immigrants and refugees from Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe and the Balkans (Koilari 1997).

Besides addressing the educational and socio-economic needs of those who have moved to Greece in recent years, researchers have increasingly been concerned with identifying and dealing with the needs of indigenous linguistic minorities (Empeirikos et al. 2001). Nevertheless, to date, from a sociolinguistic perspective, both newly established linguistic minorities and indigenous ones have received limited attention. Two notable exceptions have been: (1) studies on 'Arvanitika', a dying variety of Tosk Albanian (Trudgill & Tsavaras 1977; Tsitsipis 1991, 1995, 1998), and (2) studies on Turkish in Western Thrace (Sella-Mazi 1992, 1995, 1997a, 1999a) and in Athens (Lytra 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, forthcoming). Moreover, only two studies regarding the linguistic vitality of indigenous linguistic minorities have been conducted thus far (Sella-Mazi 1997b, 1999b; Trudgill 1992).[3] Consequently, this significant gap in sociolinguistic research on both newly established and indigenous linguistic minorities in Greece makes the need for the present study more pressing.

Indeed, this type of research is in agreement with an already growing number of studies on indigenous linguistic minorities in Europe and North America, such as the Alsatians in France (Gardner-Chloros 1991, 1998), the Hungarians in Austria (Gal 1979, 1987), Native Americans in the US (see relevant articles in Cazden et al. 1972) and older migrant communities, such as the Puerto-Ricans in the US (see relevant studies in Duran

[3] Unlike the case of newly established linguistic minorities and indigenous ones, Greek immigrant communities abroad have been extensively investigated from a linguistic and sociolinguistic standpoint, e.g. Greeks in Australia, Papademetre 1994; Tamis 1990; Tsokalidou 1992, 1994; Greeks in France, Androulakis 1994, 1999; Greeks in New Zealand, Holmes et al. 1993; Greeks in the US, Demos 1988.

1981; Zentella 1997), South East Asian and Caribbean communities in Britain (Rampton 1992, 1995, 1999; Sebba 1986, 1993). This line of research has been extended to incorporate more newly established migrant communities, such as Spanish, Portuguese and Algerian communities in France (Dabène & Moore 1998), Italian in Germany, (Auer 1988), Turkish and North African in the Netherlands (Boeschoten & Verhoeven 1987; Jongenburger & Aarssen 2001), Pakistani in Norway (Aarsæther 2002) and Turkish in Denmark (Jørgensen 1999, 2002).

In this context, the focus on linguistic minorities in Greece is a timely task, since large scale migration from abroad and the continual movement of people belonging to linguistic minority groups from the periphery to urban centres have rapidly changed its demographic and cultural picture. These changes have foregrounded the need to re-examine of the role of the nation-state and its institutions, such as the school, where language teaching and learning traditionally has taken place. Moreover, they have highlighted the complexity of sharing multiple and, at times, conflicting personal and social identities and constantly making border crossings (Norton 2000; see relevant articles in Martin-Jones & Heller 2001; Norton 1999; Sarangi & Baynham 1996).

As Heller (1999) argues, members of these linguistic minorities have played an important role in bridging the gap among the different worlds they inhabit, by addressing tensions and contradictions that arise, when these worlds come into contact (: 15-16). The investigation of linguistic minorities becomes all the more necessary since contact encounters are no longer confined to relatively small, marginalised groups of people, but have become pervasive, especially in urban contexts.

In the light of this research, the focus of this study on a school-based linguistically and culturally mixed peer group aims at exploring further such contact encounters. The sociolinguistic perspective adopted is motivated by the significance of language, culture and social identity construction in interaction (see 1.4).

1.2 (Bi-)multilingual state primary schools in Greece [4]

The growing interest in linguistic minorities in Greece has manifested itself in a parallel increasing interest in dealing with the educational needs of pupils whose home language and culture is one other than Greek. For this purpose, three E.U.-funded programmes ran by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with Universities in Greece were initiated in 1997. The target groups of these programmes were: (1) immigrants and Greek expatriates, (2) Greek citizens of Roma origin, (3) Greek citizens, members of the indigenous Muslim minority of Western Thrace [5].

Although each programme was designed for the needs of different target groups, all three programmes converged upon certain main educational aims. These were: (1) to provide in-service training to teachers instructing these target groups and (2) to produce, test and amend new teaching materials for teaching Greek as a Second Language, by making use

[4] Note that the term '(bi-)multilingual schools' does not reflect the use of more than one language as the medium of instruction. Besides English foreign language instruction, state primary schools provide Greek medium only instruction and there are no provisions for teaching the pupils' home languages at school. The only exception are the Greek-Turkish bilingual primary schools in Western Thrace which have been designed to address the educational needs of the members of the indigenous Greek Muslim minority (Baltsiotis 1997). Instead, the term '(bi-)multilingual' reflects the linguistic diversity of the student population.

[5] A fourth programme was also established which dealt with the Greeks of the diaspora and the learning of Greek as a Foreign Language (see National Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs in collaboration with the University of Crete 1998d).

of new technologies [6]. A shared goal of these programmes was the promotion of cultural and linguistic diversity and social inclusion in Greece. These programmes sought to resist the marginilisation of members of these target groups from mainstream Greek society, by enhancing their educational opportunities and experiences and combating inequality, discrimination and racism.

Simultaneously, from the mid-90s onwards, a number of researchers working within the fields of education, sociology of education, social anthropology and social psychology in Greece have shifted their attention to (bi-)multilingual schools and classrooms [7]. Other researchers have critically examined the role of schools as social institutions that promote the dissemination and reproduction of a homogeneous Greek national identity (see relevant articles in Frangoudaki & Dragona 1997). Regardless of the developing interest in the study of (bi-)multilingual schools and classrooms, sociolinguistically oriented research of Greek classroom discourse has focused primarily on monolingual classrooms (Altani 1992; Archakis 1992, 1996; Kakava 1993; Kondyli 1990; Pavlidou 1999, 2001). The present thesis is in the spirit of current trends in Greek educational research and aims at redressing the gap in Greek sociolinguistic literature, by contributing to the need for grass roots research in (bi-)multilingual schools and classrooms.

---

[6] For the mission statements of these programmes see: (1) National Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs in collaboration with the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens 1998a; (2) National Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs in collaboration with the University of Ioannina 1998b; (3) National Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs in collaboration with the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens 1998c respectively.

[7] See Asimakopoulou & Christidou-Lionaraki 2002; Athanasopoulos 1997; Birbili 1994; Katsikas & Politou 1999; Lidaki 1997, 1998; Magos 1996; Mitilis 1998; Kanakidou 1997; Vakalios et al. 1997.

1.3 Approaches to discourse: Interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis

According to Schiffrin (1994), interactional sociolinguistics is a cross-disciplinary approach to discourse that has its origins in anthropology, sociology and linguistics. Similar to its disciplinary origins, it is concerned with the study of language, culture and society (: 95). This focus has stemmed from the works of linguistic anthropologist John Gumperz and sociologist Ervin Goffman. In particular, Gumperz's work is based on the premise that meaning, structure and language use are socially and culturally bound (Gumperz 1982a). This premise becomes all the more relevant in present-day urban societies where an increasing number of people from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds come into contact, as in the case of the peer group members under study.

As Gumperz's research in (bi-)multilingual encounters has demonstrated (1981, 1982a, 1982b), such contact situations can cause difficulties in communication and generate misunderstandings. These misunderstandings can lead to racial and ethnic stereotyping and to unequal access to valued symbolic and material resources. To avoid such misunderstandings in communication, it is crucial for participants to share certain signalling devices or 'contextualization cues' (Gumperz 1982a: 131). 'Contexualization cues' are defined as linguistic, paralinguistic and extra-linguistic signs that cluster together and associate what is said to assumed background knowledge among conversationalists (ibid).

Depending on conversationalists' linguistic and cultural repertoires, these cues may be realised in terms of 'code, dialect and style switching processes', 'prosodic phenomena', 'choice among lexical and syntactic options', 'formulaic expressions', 'conversational

openings, closings and sequencing strategies' (ibid, see also Gumperz 1992). Conversationalists employ these shared cues to accurately inference the meaning of a message. During this process, they also have at their disposal assumed background knowledge or 'contextual presuppositions', which involve shared assumptions about 'context, interactive goals and interpersonal relations' (ibid: 2).

Gumperz's work on 'contextualization cues' and 'contexual presuppositions' is enriched by Goffman's emphasis on the structural complexities of situated face-to-face social interaction. This takes the form of investigating the relationship between social structure and interpersonal meanings. In this context, Gumperz's 'contexualization cues' are associated with the notion of 'frames' (Goffman 1974). 'Frames' are regarded as mechanisms through which participants structure their social and personal experiences (: 10-11). In particular, with the term 'frame' Goffman refers to:

> definitions of a situation [that] are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events -at least social ones- and our subjective involvement in them (ibid).

In this study, 'contextualization cues' are seen as framing devices, namely devices that indicate the frame in which an utterance should be interpreted. In the following chapters (5-6), it is illustrated how certain linguistic, extra-linguistic and paralinguistic cues can structure the organisation of social interaction and the production of play frames.

Furthermore, Gumperz and Goffman's understanding and interpretation of face-to-face social interaction has a bearing on their conceptualisation of the self as a member of social and cultural groupings. This is grounded in a view of the self as an active participant in the interactively achieved social construction of meaning (cf. Schiffrin

1994). In this respect, Goffman (1981) locates the self within a 'participation framework', namely a set of positions or 'participation status' which interactants take in relation to an utterance that is produced within their perceptual range (: 3). Each position interactants embrace is related to codified and normatively defined social conduct (ibid).

Consequently, interactants recognise and exploit shifts in the different participant positions available in social interaction. This becomes possible, since they share norm-governed expectations about what is considered as appropriate social conduct in each participant position. This view of the self as socially and interactively constructed is also reflected in the conceptualisation of identity construction as a process, which has been adopted in this study (see 1.8).

Moreover, the concepts of 'frames' and 'participation frameworks' can be further linked to social interaction via the notion of 'footing' (Goffman 1974). 'Footing' is defined as:

> the alignment we take up to ourselves and the other present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance (: 128).

Shifts in 'footing' or 'participant alignments' [8] can be achieved through the manipulation of contextualization cues as framing devices. In other words, contextualization cues act as devices to convey shifts in footing, through which different changes in participation frameworks and frames can be signalled.

The fruitful combination of insights from the works of Gumperz and Goffman results in producing 'a richly textured view of the contexts in which inferences about speakers' meaning are situated' (Schiffrin 1994: 102). In particular, Gumperz's work attends to

[8] These two terms are employed here interchangeably.

how interactants' make inferences about what is meant in a given utterance, by relying on interpretations of context seen as background cultural understandings. Goffman's work focuses on the organisation of social life and the ways it provides contexts for comprehending social interaction. In this view of context, language plays an indexical role (: 105). Language indexes background cultural understandings that aid us in inferring what is meant. In addition, it provides one of the possible resources to index social identities in talk-in-interaction (: 105-6).

Such a conceptualisation of context can encompass aspects of both 'local' or 'interactional' contexts and 'global' or 'societal' contexts (Van Dijk 1997: 15). 'Local' contexts and their relevance in discourse can be more readily identified, by examining parameters, such as the participants, their actions and the setting. 'Global' contexts, on the other hand, may involve penetrating more complex and abstract systems, cultures and ideologies. This conceptualisation of context draws our attention to the following questions: (1) whether 'local' contexts are ubiquitously embedded in more 'global' contexts and (2) whether the latter are always relevant for understanding talk-in-interaction (ibid) [9]. In this study, it is demonstrated that there is a strong inter-dependence between 'local' and 'global' contexts and that aspects of the 'global' context, such as Greek national discourses regarding the self and the 'other' and the school's intercultural regime, play a central role in the analysis and interpretation of the data (chapters 4-7).

[9] Note, however, that the boundaries between 'local' and 'global' contexts may not always be clearly demarcated (ibid).

While interactional sociolinguistics is the main approach to discourse adopted in this thesis, insights from conversation analysis (henceforth CA) [10] are employed in order to enrich the analysis. CA shares with interactional sociolinguistics a concern for the investigation of human conduct as meaningful, rule-governed and influenced by background cultural knowledge [11]. Moreover, both share the recognition that face-to-face exchanges are the site for the analysis of human conduct. This study makes use of the conversation analytic notions of 'sequencing', 'next positioning' and their systematicity. As shown (chapters 5-6), these notions are valuable for the investigation of the organisation of responses and the rules of turn-taking in-talk-in-interaction.

The investigation of sequencing is based on the analytical concept of the 'interactional sequence'. According to Goodwin & Heritage (1990),

> this concept is premised on the recognition that each "current" conversational action embodies a "here and now" definition of the situation to which subsequent talk will be oriented (: 287).

By exploring the way interactional sequences are normatively organised, conversation analysts probe into the interactants' 'next positioning'. This encompasses the different options participants have out of a range of possible next actions to respond to some prior talk (: 288). This concept of 'next positioning' has been built upon the notion of 'adjacency pairs'. Unlike 'adjacency pairs' that can only account for a restricted range of

---

[10] CA emerged in the 1960s as a synthesis between interactive and phenomenological/ethnomethdological traditions. Having its roots primarily in sociology, it acknowledges the significance of face-to-face interaction as the locus for the examination of human action. It explores the ways people organise their conduct meaningfully and intelligibly in order to make sense of the worlds in which they participate (Goodwin & Heritage 1990).

[11] It is important to note, however, that interactional sociolingistcs and CA diverge on their understanding of what makes this background cultural knowledge relevant in a given interaction. While interactional sociolinguistics rely on the analyst's inferencing processes, CA claims that any analytical claims made must be shown to be relevant by the participants themselves (Pomerantz & Fehr 1997: 66); see also discussion in this section.

conversational actions, 'next positing' can be used to explore a wider range of conversational actions (Goodwin & Heritage 1990: 288). As Goodwin & Heritage argue, compared to 'adjacency pairs', the concept of 'next positioning' is a 'more generic notion' in which:

> a current action may project but not strictly require, one among a range of possible next actions [and] a much broader range of actions can be found to function in similar ways (ibid).

The concept of 'next positioning' paves the way for the study of different aspects of a given conversational sequence. These may range from the investigation of small-scale phenomena, such as the clustering of contextualization cues and shifts in footing, through different responses to playful talk to large-scale phenomena, such as the development of play frames across contexts (chapters 4-7).

The systematicity of 'sequencing' and 'next positioning' can aid in the examination of the sequential organisation of turn-taking in talk-in-interaction. In their examination of the system of turn-taking, Sacks et al (1974) have identified three fundamental components:

> a specification of generic turn-constructional units that provide places for possible turn-transition (for example, a sentence that has come to a point of recognizable completion); (2) speaker-selection techniques, which include both self-selection by a subsequent speaker and specification of a next speaker by the current speaker; and (3) a rule set that orders options for action at points of possible turn-transition (reported in Goodwin & Heritage 1990: 290).

Sacks et al devised this system of turn-taking to explore instances of everyday conversational interactions. Research of institutional discourse from a conversation analytic perspective, however, has revealed that turn-taking systems during formal classroom instruction are differently organised in that they restrict interactants'

opportunities for participation (cf. Mc Houl 1978). These insights from conversation analysis enable us to explore the different speech exchange systems that are available to interactants across settings at school (chapters 5-6).

Moreover, the notions of sequencing and next positioning provide a window to understanding 'participation frameworks' and what constitutes 'context' from a conversation analytic perspective. Both interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis are concerned with the investigation of 'participation frameworks' as a means to explore conversational action and participation status (Goodwin & Heritage 1990: 295). These two approaches to discourse, however, diverge in their understanding of the dynamics of context. While interactional sociolinguistics relies heavily on the analyst's inferencing processes, conversation analysis postulates that:

> the categories employed to describe participants, action, and context must be derived from orientations exhibited by the participants themselves (ibid).

This issue brings forth 'the problem of relevance': whether, through their talk, participants themselves orient to the categories the analyst employs (ibid). The divergence of the two approaches vis-à-vis their understanding of context and the issue of relevance, however, does not make drawing insights from them problematic. Instead, the use of the interactional sociolinguistic concepts of 'contextualization cues', 'frames', 'participation frameworks', 'footing', 'local and global contexts' complemented by the conversation analytic concepts of 'sequencing' and 'next-positioning' provide an eclectic analytical and interpretative framework for the investigation of playful talk, play frames and social identity construction at school.

1.4 Ethnography: Defining culture

The present study views ethnography as both 'a process of inquiry' (Le Vine 1988: 67) and a set of 'methods' (Duranti 1997: 84) [12]. As a process of inquiry, ethnography consists of providing:

> a written description of the social organization, social activities, symbolic and material resources, and interpretive practices characteristic of a particular group of people (: 85).

In sociolinguistic research, ethnography as a process of inquiry has played a central role in the development of the Ethnography of Communication as an approach to the study of discourse (Hymes 1974, 1996). Moreover, it has been extensively employed by researches from different discourse traditions to identify and foreground aspects of the material, symbolic and other resources and practices of the peoples they are investigating (e.g. Eckert 2000; Eder 1995; Heath 1983; Heller 1999; Goodwin M.H. 1990; Moreman 1998; Rampton 1995).

An important principle that guides ethnographic inquiry is that of 'openness'. 'Openness' refers to the fact that ethnographers do not approach a group's shared beliefs and practices with a set of a priori meanings regarding how the former should be understood and interpreted. Instead, ethnographers discover these meanings through the process of ethnographic inquiry (Hymes 1996: 10-15). During this process, ethnographers are required to distance themselves from their culturally biased interpretations of the phenomena they are examining and attain a certain degree of 'objectivity'. Simultaneously, they are required to provide 'an insider's perspective' concerning the people they are studying (Duranti 1997: 85). As a result, ethnographers produce:

[12] The ethnographic methods employed in this study are discussed in chapter 2.

> an interpretation of the way a people lives that is neither imprisoned with their mental horizons, as an ethnography of witchcraft as written by a witch, nor systematically deaf to the distinctive tonalities of their existence, an ethnography of witchcraft written by a geometer (Geertz 1988:125).

The two perspectives ethnographers need to successfully balance in their description bring to mind the 'emic-etic' distinction in anthropology. The 'emic' perspective refers to:

> the point of view of the members of the community under study and hence tries to describe how members assign meaning to a given act or to the differences between two acts.

The 'etic' perspective, on the other hand, is:

> culture-independent and simply provides a classification of behaviours on the basis of a set of features devised by the observer/researcher (: 172; also Hymes 1996).

Following Duranti (1997), this study takes as its point of departure that a successful ethnography is not confined to taking one single perspective - whether 'emic' or 'etic'-. Rather, it is based on a dialogue between the different viewpoints and voices of the people being observed, those of the observers and the latters' methodological and analytical principles, as they are specified by their discipline (: 87).

This thesis takes this premise a step further by challenging the centrality of 'the native's point of view' in ethnographic inquiry. As Sharrock & Anderson (1982) argue, in reality 'the native and the researcher co-produce fieldwork' (: 133). 'The native', they claim, should not be viewed as 'an expert', but as an 'enquirer' into her own culture. Consequently, both ethnographers and subjects have to collaboratively find out what the meanings of the latters' shared practices, beliefs and activities are.

This approach to ethnographic inquiry implies that meanings and understandings are perceived as being achieved and negotiated. They do not exist independently in the subjects' minds or actions, which ethnographers are called upon to discover (ibid). In addition, this approach brings forth the conditions of inter-subjectivity that connect ethnographers with their subjects and highlights the dialogue that takes place between them (see 2.7- 2.8; also 7.3)

The process of ethnographic inquiry foregrounds the relationship between ethnography, language and culture. As a review of the literature on culture indicates, the pre-eminence of language in different theories of culture varies (Duranti 1997: 23-24). In this thesis, culture is viewed as a system of practices [13]. Following Bourdieu (1990 reported in Duranti 1997),

> culture is neither something simply external to the individual (e.g. in rituals or symbols handed down by older members of the society), nor something simply internal (e.g. in the individual mind). Rather, it exists through routinized action that includes the material (and physical) conditions as well as the social actors' experiences in using their bodies while moving through a familiar space (: 45).

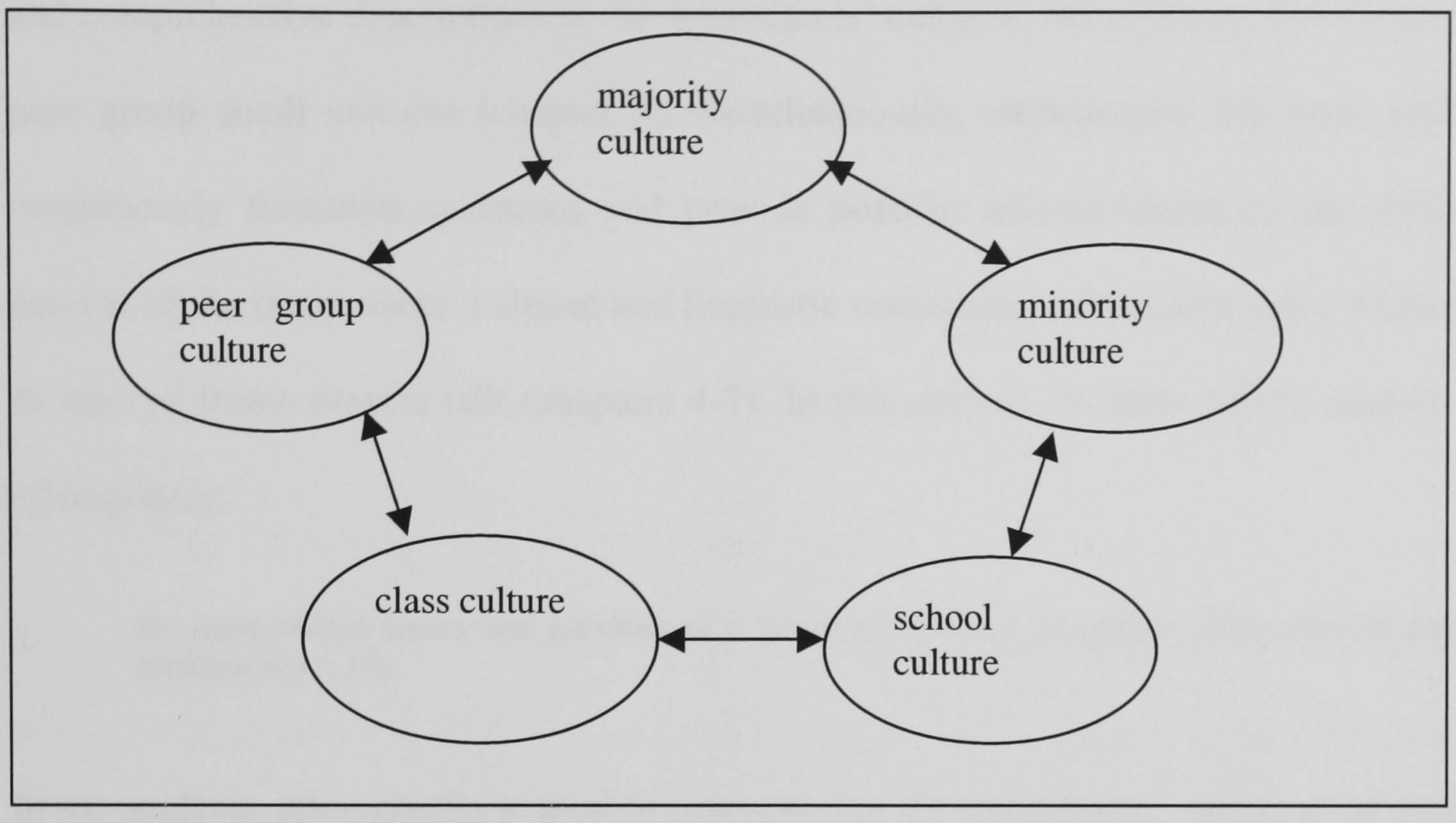
This conceptualisation of culture is based on the following assumptions: (1) culture does not refer to an arbitrary collection of independent traits and (2) there is not a one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning. Thus, language and culture are not regarded as autonomous systems, but are seen as being 'actively defined by socio-political processes' (ibid). These processes inform the ways bureaucratic institutions, such as schools, function (ibid). Furthermore, shared meanings and interpretations are

[13] The notion of culture as a system of practices has been greatly influenced by the intellectual movement of post-structuralism, which was developed in the late 1960s- early 1970s (Duranti 1997).

dialogically constructed and there is a general recognition that cultures are fluid and mixed (: 43).

Following this dynamic definition of culture as a system of practices, the subsequent diagram illustrates the interaction of different cultures in which the peer group members partake and from which they draw their resources for playful talk. These are identified as: the majority (i.e. Greek) culture, the minority (i.e. Turkish) culture, the school's culture (influenced by the school's intercultural regime), the 4th grade class culture and the 4th grade linguistically and culturally mixed peer group culture. It is worth noting that these cultures are not self-contained entities (Holliday 1999). For instance, the majority culture incorporates aspects from youth popular cultures and media cultures (see 4.5.1- 4.5.5). In similar vein, the minority culture draws from a trans-national Turkish culture (one that is disseminated via satellite TV, 3.1.6) as well as from its localised manifestations, in Gazi (3.1- 3.16). Moreover, these cultures are inter-connected and inter-related. The fact that each culture is represented independently in the diagram does not imply fixed boundaries. Instead, cultures feed into each other, thereby creating spaces for contact (cf. Heller 1999).

Diagram 1.1. The inter-relationship of cultures



As far as the 4th grade class and peer cultures are concerned, this study adopts the concept of 'small cultures' (Holliday 1999) [14]. Following Holliday, 'small culture' is defined as:

> a dynamic, ongoing group process which operates in changing circumstances to enable group members to make sense of and operate meaningfully within those circumstances (: 248).

A 'small culture' perspective attaches culture to cohesive social groupings, their activities and practices, such as that of a classroom or peer group. This is opposed to a 'large culture' perspective that identifies groups of people based on 'ethnic', 'national' or 'international' affiliations (: 237). In this respect, the 'small culture' paradigm is in agreement with the definition of culture as a system of practices. In addition, this conceptualisation of 'small cultures' transforms culture into 'the location for research' and it becomes 'an interpretative device for understanding emergent behaviour' (ibid).

[14] This concept originates from Applied Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition research.

In this study, ethnography as a method of inquiry has been employed to produce accurate and comprehensive descriptions of the interactants' cultures: the minority, the school and peer group small cultures (chapter 3). Simultaneously, ethnography has been used to continuously formulate questions and provide possible interpretations of the different aspects of the interactants' cultural and linguistic resources, in particular those employed as cues to frame playful talk (chapters 4-7). In this context, as Eder (1993) argues, via ethnography,

> the most salient issues and activities of a group are allowed to emerge rather than be defined prematurely (: 19).

In the analysis, ethnography is used to contextualise the interactants' resources as well as to clarify and/or support analytical claims and interpretations (chapters 4-7). The contextualising, analytical and interpretative roles of ethnography become all the more relevant when investigating contact encounters. These encounters tend to produce mixed practices that make ethnography indispensable (cf. Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Tejeda 1999).

1.5 The peer-group as the unit of analysis

Social scientists have employed the concept of the 'group' as the unit of analysis to investigate a variety of groupings. Group formations, whether these are based on ethnicity, age, language or gender and so on, presuppose that groups do not exist in vacuum. Instead, they exist in relation to other groups and it is via this relationship that groups are constituted.

Following Eriksen's discussion of ethnic group formation (1993), this study takes as its point of departure that processes of group construction are based on 'contact and interrelationship' (: 9). Past approaches to group formation have conceived groups as having discrete and fixed boundaries: they included within them group members and excluded non-group members. Recent approaches, however, have questioned the extent to which group boundaries are indeed as discrete and fixed as it had been assumed (ibid: 9-10).

In sociolinguistic research, the latter line of inquiry has triggered the investigation of contact encounters between participants that share different ethnic, cultural, linguistic or gender affiliations (e.g. Heller 1999; Rampton 1995). This research has revealed that group boundaries are in fact permeable and negotiable. Moreover, it has identified process whereby participants engage in exchanging, resisting, appropriating transforming and mixing aspects of their resources and practices (ibid). This thesis draws on this strand in sociolinguistics to study playful talk, play frames and social identity construction among the members of the linguistically and culturally mixed peer group.

In sociolinguistics, the concept of the 'group' has been widely employed in the study of peer groups. This preoccupation could be attributed to the fact that researchers have identified the 'peer group' as the locus for the investigation of peer cultures (cf. Corsaro & Eder 1990; Hoyle & Adger 1998). Corsaro & Eder (1990) define 'peer culture' as:

> a stable set of activities or routines, artefacts, values, and concerns that children produce and share in interaction with peers (: 197).

Following Corsaro & Eder (1990), this study assumes that peer cultures are not mere reproductions or imitations of the adult social worlds. Instead, they are viewed as 'autonomous and creative systems' produced among peers, by effectively appropriating elements of the adult social worlds (ibid: 200-201) [15]. The centrality of the peer group as the locus for the investigation of its members' peer cultures as well as the other cultures in which they take part has been endorsed by this study (cf. 0.0).

Furthermore, the concept of the peer group has been linked with language socialisation research. In this research tradition, the peer group is regarded as the arena for language socialisation, especially once children venture outside the home and into the playground, school, community. Hoyle & Adger (1998) define language socialisation as:

> the acquisition of attitudes, skills and strategies that are manifested and practiced in a variety of settings – home, community, street, school, work (: 11).

In this study, language socialisation becomes an issue to the extent that the school is the main site where secondary socialisation takes place.

A common critique launched against the use of the concept of the 'group' as the unit of analysis, however, is that it tends to focus on conformity among group members, while failing to capture differences at an intra-group level (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992: 466). To provide a more fine-grained analysis of intra-group variation in language use, Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1992) have proposed the notion of 'communities of

[15] Studies on peer cultures have examined peer cultures across ages, ranging from pre-schoolers to adolescents and have dealt with such diverse topics as: (1) sharing routines (Goodwin M.H. 1985; Katriel 1985); (2) establishing and maintaining friendships (Corsaro 1985; Fine 1981); (3) challenging adult authority (Corsaro 1985); (4) gender differentiation (Eder 1995; Thorne 1986) and (5) peer conflict (Eder 1990; Corsaro & Rizzo 1990; Goodwin 1990).

practice'. Drawing on the work of Lave & Wenger (1991), they define 'community of practice' as:

> an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations –in short, practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavour (: 464).

They claim that, in order to examine how language interacts with different social constructs (e.g. ethnicity, culture, gender, age and on), it is necessary to examine the linguistic and social practices in which an aggregate of people engages (ibid; see also articles in Holmes 1999). In this study, the centrality of the reproductive nature of communities of practice and the notions of 'novice' versus 'experienced' speakers are employed in the interpretation of the peer group members' resources and practices in framing playful talk and constructing social identities at school (7.1.2) [16].

Milroy & Milroy (1992) have approached the study of intra-group linguistic differentiation by employing the concept of 'social networks'. By 'social network' they refer to:

> a boundless web of ties that reaches out through a whole society, linking people to one another, however remotely (: 5).

While the concept of social networks provides a valuable analytical and methodological tool to the investigation of linguistic variation and social structure, the scope for the examination of network ties tends to be on specific individuals who share strong first-order network ties (ibid). In this context, it is a useful tool, for instance, in examining the gradual segregation of linguistic and social practices across generations (Li 1994). In this

[16] It is worth noting, however, that the concept of 'communities of practice' has been criticised for emphasizing commonalities and failing to account for issues of power and asymmetry (see Creese 2002).

study, however, the concept of social networks is not used, since the focus of the study is on contact encounters mainly between peer group members rather than on their interaction with outsiders to the group.

1.6 Investigating children's playful talk: An overview

Children's play and playful talk at school, at home and in the community has been extensively explored in a variety of research traditions, including folklore studies, sociolinguistcs and linguistic anthropology. In particular, research in folklore studies has been concerned with the investigation of children's oral traditions across countries and has focused on the examination of:

> games, riddles, rhymes, jokes, pranks, superstitions, magical practices, wit, lyrics, guile, epithets, nicknames, torments, parody, oral legislation, seasonal customs, tortures, obscenities, codes, gang lore, etc. (Sutton-Smith 1970: 1 reported in Bishop & Curtis 2001b :5).

According to Bishop & Curtis (2001b), studies on play and playful talk have been influenced by the preoccupation of folklore with 'performance' and 'communication' (: 7). As a result, these studies address not only the social, developmental and educational aspects of children's play, but also its cultural, expressive and aesthetic dimensions. In doing so, they explore the different ways children experience their childhood across cultures, time and place (ibid).

Studies on children's oral traditions at school have addressed a breadth of issues. These have ranged from investigating children's play vis-à-vis the physical space of the school playground (Armitage 2001) to probing into the role of mass media as a source for enhancing old play traditions and constructing new ones (Grugeon 2001a, 2001b; Marsh 2001). Moreover, researchers working in folklore studies have expanded their scope of

interest to include the exploration of multi-cultural school playgrounds. In these settings children form interethnic friendship groups and engage in processes of multilingual transmission of play traditions (Marsh 2001; Russell 1986). This thesis draws valuable insights from studies on the centrality of mass media in children's lives at school as well as on multi-cultural school playgrounds to examine the peer group members' linguistic and cultural resources and practices associated with playful talk (chapters 4-5; also 7.1.3).

In contrast to folklore studies, research in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology has been confined to the investigation of talk in play activities and routines. For instance, researchers have explored talk produced when: (1) playing computer games and engaging in role-play (Hoyle 1998); (2) participating in pretend play (Goodwin, M.H., 1990); and (3) engaging in outdoor games, such as playing with the jump rope, making sling-shots, playing hopscotch (Goodwin M.H. 1985, 1990, 1998). In this line of research, talk has been examined in relation to the ways participants construct, maintain or subvert these frames of play during the course of the game.

Child socialisation studies have probed into verbal play and teasing between children, their parents/caretakers or siblings (Eisenberg 1986; Miller 1986; Schieffelin 1986). Studies of peer street cultures have focused on verbal play and ritual insulting routines. These studies have looked into ritual insulting routines among African-American adolescent boys (e.g. Abrahams 1974; Kochman 1983; Labov 1972), Turkish pre-adolescents and adolescent boys (Dundes, Leach and Özkök 1972), American white male youths (Leary 1980) as well as naming and nicknaming practices among youth gang members (Rymes 1996).

Although these studies reveal a strong preference for the investigation of playful talk (e.g. verbal play and teasing) at home and in the neighbourhood, institutional settings such as schools and youth clubs have received limited attention. For example, research in institutional contexts has explored teasing among adolescent girls at school (Eder 1991, 1993, 1995) and 'noisy talk' among members of a culturally diverse mixed-sex adolescent group at a local youth club (Tannock 1998, 1999).

A key contribution of this line of research in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology is its focus on talk-in-interaction, which overlaps with the concerns of this thesis. The focus on talk-in-interaction has a bearing on both scope of the research and the data collection methods. Playful talk (e.g. teasing, verbal play) is examined in its actual use and in the social and cultural contexts, namely in activities and routines, in which it emerges. This contrasts the investigation of play in folklore tudies, where playful talk is treated as isolated performances, without attending to the talk that surrounds these performances. Moreover, unlike folklore studies, examples of actual use of playful talk are provided to contextualise the analysis and discussion [17]. Concerning data collection methods, sociolinguistic and anthropological linguistic studies favour naturally-occurring interactions over interviews and tape-recorded elicited interactions, as opposed to folklore studies.

An important limitation of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, however, is that research on playful talk thus far has been confined to the investigation of a restricted set

[17] Note, however, that linguistic studies of language play seem to fall short in providing examples of the phenomena they describe (cf. Crystal 1998) or furnish limited examples of actual use, usually out of context (cf. Cook 2000).

of verbal activities and routines. In other words, certain phenomena (e.g. teasing, ritual insulting and verbal play) have monopolised the researchers' agenda, while others (e.g. media-inspired talk, singing, chanting) have received little attention. To readdress the balance, this study adopts an umbrella definition of playful talk that includes the full range of playful verbal activities identified in the data (see 1.7).

Another significant limitation of these studies is that, as a rule, their target groups are linguistically and culturally homogeneous ones. African-Americans, white or Turkish youths have been investigated interacting with peers from the same ethnic group. With few exceptions (Tannock 1998, 1999), contact encounters among ethnically diverse groups, however, have not been explored. This shortcoming further enhances the significance of this study.

Lastly, research in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology on children's playful talk at school has been primarily restricted to examining talk in school playgrounds (e.g. Eder 1991, 1993, 1995). Although interactions in other settings, such as school corridors and cafeterias have been explored (e.g. Rampton 1995, 1999; Heller 1999), the focus of these studies has not been on playful talk per se. In response to this playground bias, in this study, playful talk is investigated across different settings at school with the purpose of identifying possible variation in playful talk across settings.

1.7 Towards a definition of playful talk and play frames

An overview of playful verbal activities from a sociolinguistic perspective illustrates that humour and conversational joking are the two most common super-ordinate categories to which researchers resort in order to group these activities. In particular, Fine (1984)

adopts humour as a generic category to encompass a range of verbal activities, including teasing, the use of puns, sarcasm and mimicry, kidding and joking (cf. Antonopoulou & Sifianou [forthcoming]; Drew 1987; Hay 2000; Papaefthymiou- Lytra 1986). Boxer & Cortés-Conde (1997) distinguish between two broad types of humour: (1) 'conversational joking' or 'situational humor' that includes the aforementioned activities and require a high degree of shared background knowledge among interactants and (2) 'joke telling' that capitalises on more ritualised cues and routines (: 275-7). Norrick (1993, 1994), on the other hand, uses conversational joking rather than humour as the super-ordinate category to cluster the same verbal activities.

In the sociolinguistic literature, the concept of performance (Bauman 1986, 2000) has also been employed as an all-encompassing analytical category to incorporate a set of phenomena that occur in different genres. Apart from story-telling (Bauman 1986; Georgakopoulou 1995, 1997, 1998) and joke-telling (Nardini 2000), this concept has been used to account for verbal activities, such as parody (Haney 2000), comic performances (Jaffe 2000; Pagliai 2000), verbal styles (Farr 2000) and folk songs (Dutkova-Cope 2000). Bauman (1986) defines performance as:

> a mode of communication, a way of speaking, the essence of which resides in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative skill, highlighting the way in which communication is carried out, above and beyond its referential content (: 3).

This notion of performance highlights the importance of both 'the act of expression' (and its inherent qualities) and 'the performer'. It foregrounds that the latter's actions, verbal skills and effectiveness are open to audience scrutiny and evaluation (ibid). Bauman argues that performances are structured events that include certain elements:

> (1) participants' identities and roles; (2) the expressive means employed in performances; (3) social interactional ground rules, norms, and strategies for performance and criteria for its interpretation and evaluation and (4) the sequence of actions that make up the scenario of the event (: 4).

Concurrently, performances have an emergent quality in that they shape and are shaped by the situational contexts in which they are produced. Depending upon the distinct interactional circumstances of a given performance, its emergent quality allows for variability and innovation (cf. Bauman and Briggs 1990; also see articles in Pagliai and Farr 2000).

In this thesis, the term 'playful talk' is introduced and adopted as an umbrella term instead. Playful talk is defined as a range of verbal activities identified in the data that set up play frames. These activities include the following: (1) teasing; (2) name-calling; (3) joking; (4) verbal play and (5) performance-oriented phenomena (4.4.1-4.4.5). The adoption of playful talk as an umbrella term is motivated by the fact that existing categories in the literature, such as humour and conversational joking, fall short of capturing the full range of verbal activities identified in the data. These activities are incorporated in performance-orientated phenomena and they are: (1) singing; (2) crying-out; (3) reciting and (4) role enactments (4.4.5.1-4.4.5.4).

In a similar vein, the concept of performance is not an appropriate super-ordinate category, as performances do not always set up play frames. Moreover, the data indicate that the concept of performance cannot adequately capture the variability in context and structure across the different verbal activities that are examined under the umbrella term playful talk. If the concept of 'performance' were to be used in this study, it would have

been necessary to re-conceptualise it. By broadening the scope of what counts as a performance, this concept would come to include deeply context-dependent and highly unstructured activities that would allow for varying audience roles.

As stated, the umbrella term playful talk is defined as a range of verbal activities identified in the data that set up play frames. Frames, in general, provide us with an interpretation of what is going on in a given interaction (cf. Tannen & Wallat [1987]1993b; Straehle 1993; see also 1.3). To achieve this understanding, interactants employ clusters of contextualization cues as framing devices to signal how their utterances, movements or gestures are to be interpreted. In the case of play frames, participants need to have a certain degree of meta-communicative awareness in order to distinguish between those signals or cues used for play and those used for combat, as they tend to be similar (Straehle 1993).

For the peer group members in this study, this meta-communicative awareness is being created and renewed against a backdrop of shared cultural associations and knowledge (cf. Georgakopoulou 1998, 2001). These common cultural associations are co-constructed through the peer group members' participation in and reproduction of aspects of the different cultures in which they partake (see diagram 1, in 1.4). Moreover, they reflect a four-year history of sustained daily interactions at school.

Frames that are signalled by cues and require meta-communicative awareness to be understood and interpreted are viewed as dynamic constructs. This conceptualisation of frames emphasises that meanings, understandings and ways of interacting are not static concepts. Instead, they are continuously placed under scrutiny against one's past

experiences and current understandings and they are adapted and revised to fit new ones (Tannen & Wallat [1987] 1993). In this study, the dynamic nature of play frames becomes the point of departure for the investigation of how play frames are sequentially and interactionally produced: how they are opened, developed and closed and the types of participant positions they make available (5.2-5.5.4, 6.3.1-6.3.5).

To investigate play frames, this thesis exploits the ambiguous nature and context-dependency of play, notably the fact that regardless of the cues employed to frame playful talk, it is not always possible to discriminate between combat and play (Bateson 1972; Straehle 1993). In this sense, play is understood as running along a continuum that spans from play to non-play and can be interpreted as bonding, nipping or biting (Boxer & Cortés-Conde 1997). Therefore, it is shown that interactants experiment with different participant positions, by exploiting the ambiguity and context-dependency of play and construct their social identities, through shifts in footing (7.1.1-7.1.5).

Simultaneously, this study makes use of the interactively constructed and emergent capacity of frames. That is their ability to be juxtaposed against other frames, to leak into other frames, to be shifted from one frame to another, to be juggled (when more than one frame needs to be concurrently oriented to) or to be in conflict with other frames (see Tannen & Wallat [1987] 1993). These characteristics of frames make them a flexible tool to examine how play frames are juxtaposed against instructional frames or what happens when more than one frame is attended (6.3.2, 6.3.4, 6.4, 6.5).

In this study, play frames can emerge in the data in relation to both socio-relational and instructional frames. As it is illustrated, 'socio-relational' or 'personal' frames are

employed to signal casual talk during free time (5.5), during lunchtime (6.5) and during instruction (6.2) [18]. Casual talk is related to what Drew & Heritage (1992) describe as 'ordinary conversation'. It is frequently contrasted with 'purposive talk' or 'task-focused talk' that addresses 'the business at hand' (Tannock 1998: 244). Purposive talk is mainly linked to 'institutional' frames (Coupland et al 1994; Ribeiro 1993, 1996) or in our case to 'instructional' frames. In this thesis, instructional frames include lesson, class management and task-related frames (see 6.2).

It is worth noting, however, that boundaries between social, instructional and play frames are not always clearly delineated. Such lack of well-defined boundaries can give rise to a blending of frames (cf. Ribeiro 1993). As Coupland et al (1994) claim in their study on framing of medical consultations:

> the 'medical versus social' dichotomy is, in fact, difficult to establish as an absolute distinction in medical discourse, not least because *all* talk, indeed all utterances, articulate socio-relational meanings which interact with and qualify ideational meanings (J. Coupland et al., 1992; Holmes, 1990; Tracy and Coupland, 1990). Even when a 'medical frame' apparently dominates in a specific medical encounter, participants will presumably pursue socio-relational goals in certain dimensions of their talk (: 90).

The blending of institutional frames (e.g. lesson, class management frames) and play frames is further explored in this thesis interactions during whole-group instruction (6.3.4, 6.4).

1.8 Locating identity in playful talk

As mentioned (1.3), from an interactional sociolinguistics perspective, the self is viewed as an active participant in the interactively achieved social construction of meaning. This

[18] Note that socio-relational or personal frames have also been associated with 'phatic communication' and 'small talk' (Coupland et al 1994).

premise underlines a social constructive approach to identity. This is opposed to approaches that treat identity as a priori-taken-for-granted-social-fact (Ochs 1993: 296). In other words, identity construction is viewed as an on-going process that is constituted through daily interactions rather than a quality that a person has or has not (cf. Gumperz 1982a). Therefore, instead of asking 'how does a person having this social identity speak', social constructivists address the following question:

> what kind of social identity is a person attempting to construct in performing this kind of verbal act or in verbally expressing this kind of stance? (Ochs 1993: 296)

For the purpose of this thesis, by extending Ochs' definition of social identity (1993) to encompass any form of identity (personal or social), the term is employed:

> as a cover term to refer to a range of social personae, including social statuses, roles, positions, relationships, and institutional and other relevant community identities one may attempt to claim or assign in the course of social life (288).

The conceptualisation of identity as a process is based on the assumption that identities are interactive, flexible and changeable constructs that are heavily context-dependent. This means that the type of identity a person may orient to or ascribe to others depends on contextual parameters, both those attributed to local/interactional contexts and those pertaining to global/societal contexts (cf. 1.3). This implies that a person can identify herself and others, by using multiple identifications and projecting multiple identities, which may be potentially contradictory. Moreman (1974) aptly captures this context-dependency of identities and their multiplicity in his study of Lue ethnic identity via the following claim:

> the question is not, 'Who are the Lue?' (cf. Moerman 1965, 1967) but rather when and how and why the identification "Lue" is preferred' (: 62).

Such a conceptualisation of identity is in agreement with ethnography as a process of inquiry, which relies on participants' category usage, rather than on taking social categories for granted (cf. Moreman 1988). Moreover, it has informed the conversation analytic and ethnomethodological traditions (see Antaki & Widdicombe 1998) as well as linguistic anthropology (Duranti 1997) and language socialization studies (Ochs 1993).

The conceptualisation of identity as a process is based on the premise that identities are discursively constructed. Interactants communicate who they are within and across different sites, at different points in time, through language. This assumption highlights that identities are situated in talk-in-interaction and foregrounds the role of language as 'constitutive of' and 'constituted by' the interactants' identities (Norton 2000: 5). With the exception of the pronominal system, identities are rarely explicitly encoded in language.

In this study, social identity construction is examined by probing into the ways peer group members exploit their linguistic and cultural resources as contextualization cues to build play frames. In addition, it is explored through the types of participation frameworks, frame shifts, responses to playful talk and shifts in footing in which they engage during the opening, development and closing of play frames (for a discussion, see chapter 7).

1.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented and discussed the main issues and concepts underlying this study. In particular, I situated this study in the growing interest in linguistic minorities in

Greece and in (bi-)multilingual Greek schools and classrooms as well as in past research on peer groups and playful talk.

In addition, I introduced the key analytical concepts based on insights from interactional sociolinguistics, conversation analysis and ethnography. I adopted the concept of playful talk, defined as a range of verbal phenomena identified in the data that set up play frames. These included the following activities: (1) teasing; (2) name-calling; (3) joking; (4) word play and (5) performance-oriented phenomena. Drawing from Gumperz (1982a), participants were viewed as exploiting linguistic and cultural resources as contextualization cues to construct play frames. Following Goffman (1974), play frames were seen as mechanisms through which participants structure aspects of their social and personal experiences. Moreover, Goffman's (1981) concepts of participation frameworks and footing were supplemented by the conversation analytic focus on sequencing and its systematicity (Goodwin & Herigate 1990) in order to probe into how play frames were introduced, developed and closed.

These two approaches to discourse were further enhanced by ethnography as a process of inquiry (Le Vine 1988) and its conceptualisation of culture as a system of practices (Bourdieu 1990, reported in Duranti 1997). Following this dynamic definition of culture, I identified the cultures in which peer group members participated and from which they drew their resources: the majority (i.e. Greek) culture, the minority (i.e. Turkish) culture, the school culture and the small cultures of the 4th grade class and the mixed peer group.

In addition, in this chapter, I adopted a social constructive approach to identity. Following Ochs (1993), I viewed social identity as a cover term to mean participants'

social personae, social status, roles, positions and relationships. In this context, social identity construction was conceptualised as a process. This meant that social identities were seen as flexible and changeable constructs that were heavily context-dependent. Moreover, social identities were taken as discursively constructed (Norton 2000), in that, through playful talk, participants claimed and assigned social identities and built social relations.

In the next chapter, I illustrate the research design and data collection methods and address the relationship between the researcher and the researched.

Chapter two

Research design and data collection methods

2.0 Introduction

In chapter 2, I present the research design and data collection methods, including a more detailed account of my involvement with the Greek Muslim community of Gazi that paved the way for the present study (2.1-2.2). Drawing on methodological insights from interactional sociolinguistics, conversation analysis and ethnography, I explore the different data collection methods I used in this thesis (2.3-2.6). Moreover, I examine the issue of 'the observer's paradox' (Milroy, Li & Moffat 1991) (2.7) and explore the roles and identities of the researcher in the field. This is done, by critically probing into issues of power and participation, as they arose during and after the completion of the research (2.8). I conclude the chapter with a discussion of transcription conventions and translation (2.9).

2.1. Research design

Interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis rely heavily on tape-recorded and video-recorded data to analyse talk-in-interaction. Tape-recorded data, in particular, have a number of advantages. First, unlike more traditional methods of participant observation, which depend on the researchers' ability to remember and reconstruct what they have heard or seen, tape recordings allow researchers to stop the flow of discourse and go back and replay a particular instance as many times as they deem necessary (Duranti 1997: 116). This gives them the opportunity to capture the smallest details of talk (e.g. intonation, aspiration) as well as to explore in depth linguistic phenomena, such as

overlapping speech and side-sequences that require paying close attention to the interactants' talk. Secondly, by making use of tape scripts, other analysts have access to the data researchers are using to support their research questions. This allows the academic community to evaluate, accept or contest the researchers' claims (ibid: 117).

Nevertheless, tape recordings alone cannot adequately capture what is going in a given interaction, because of their inability to account for certain contextual information, both local and global. Such contextual information ranges from non-verbal cues, seating arrangements and the use of props to the interactants' linguistic and cultural backgrounds and past interactional histories. This type of information, however, can only be gleaned upon through extensive fieldwork and participant observation (cf. Peräkylä 1997). These two methods are the cornerstone of ethnography as a set of 'methods' (Duranti 1997: 84).

Ethnography as a set of methods advocates the use of different types of data collection (e.g. observation, interviews, tape recordings, video-recordings etc.). The purpose of these methods is to ensure the dialogue between the different viewpoints and voices of the people being observed, those of the observer and the latter's methodological and analytical principles, as specified by her discipline (Duranti 1997: 87). Ethnography objects to the use of exclusively quantitative methods (e.g. questionnaires, surveys) on the basis that they are designed in advance (by the researcher), without taking into account the aforementioned dialogic processes (cf. Hymes 1996).

Drawing on these insights regarding methodology, the following data collection methods were employed: (1) extensive participant observations and informal discussions; (2) tape recordings of naturally occurring interactions; (3) semi-structured qualitative interviews;

(4) other sources (i.e. written questionnaires, pupil profiles and a film by an independent film maker concerning the school). The rationale guiding the choice to combine data collection methods was two-fold: to allow the investigation of the interactants' talk-in-interaction in great detail and to capture indispensable contextual information in order for the researcher to understand and interpret these interactions.

2.2 Participant observation

Participant observation is regarded as an important component of ethnographic research (Cameron et al 1992; Duranti 1997; Silverman 1997). The main strength of this data collection method is that, through direct observation, elicitation and intensive personal interaction with the group of people under investigation, the researcher is able to obtain data that better reflect the purposes, aims and research questions raised in the study. This is achieved as the researcher participates in and makes a record (through field-notes) of the daily activities of the people she is studying. These records are enhanced by interpretive comments that are based on the researcher's understandings and perceptions of the people and their activities.

As mentioned (0.1), my involvement with children from the Greek Muslim community of Gazi predated the initiation of the present thesis (October 1996- June 1998). As tutor for The Volunteer Programme of the Municipality of Athens, I met pupils once a week, either at their homes or at the local community centre of the Municipality of Athens.

My participation in this programme gave me the opportunity to develop ties with pupils and their families as well as with other volunteers working in the area. This provided me with a network of friends and acquaintances I was able to call upon at the onset of my

fieldwork in order to gain access to the school and people's homes. Moreover, these initial interactions served as an introduction to the community in relation to its practices, preferences, symbolic and material resources and ways of life. Observations and informal discussions during that period furnished insights for developing the ethnographic description of the community during the fieldwork proper.

At the beginning of the four-month participant observation period at school, I resorted to the network of contacts I had developed before beginning my research degree. In this respect, for the school staff, I assumed the culturally recognised social role of 'a friend of a friend' with the additional roles of 'fellow teacher' and 'post-graduate student' (see also 2.5) [19]. Form teachers [20] introduced me to their classes by referring to these two additional roles: 'η κυρία Βάλλη είναι δασκάλα και κάνει μια έρευνα' ('Miss Vally is a teacher and she is working on a research project'). Pupils were familiar with outsiders (e.g. teachers, teacher-trainees and researchers) sitting in and observing their classes, due to the status of the school and the involvement of members of staff from the University of Athens. This precedent made my ascribed roles of 'teacher' and 'researcher' relevant to the pupils' past experiences.

The period of participant observation was divided into two stages: (1) preparing the groundwork and (2) immersing myself in the field (cf. Gillespie 1995). The initial stage lasted for a little less than a month. The main objective of this stage was to become acquainted with the pupils and form teachers of 4th, 5th and 6th grades and start developing

[19] I had already obtained written permission from the Ministry of Education to gain access to the school and had contacted a member of staff from the University of Athens regarding my intention to do fieldwork there. At the time, the University of Athens was running an after-school educational and recreational programme for pupils attending the school (3.2.1).

[20] In Greek primary schools, form teachers teach all lessons across the curriculum, with the exception of PE and English as a foreign language that are taught by specialist teachers.

interpersonal relations [21]. A second, yet equally important objective, was to ascertain which groups and individuals, I would eventually tape-record, when, where and how much. At that stage, I was preoccupied with issues, such as how I could record the data in the most effective and less intrusive way and ensure their technical quality.

The second stage was punctuated by the beginning of the tape recordings. It lasted for 3 months and was more labour intensive. During this second stage, participant observations were closely connected to the recording process. I systematically contextualised the tape-recorded data by providing seating plans, marking the movements of pupils, taking notes on aspects of non-verbal communication and asking clarification questions. I also took notes of actual exchanges, which I had not been able to tape record, and points, which I wanted to explore further. Eventually, I started to include in my field-notes observations and interpretations of the pupils' activities that I wanted to test.

Overall, I observed: (1) all lessons taught across the curriculum; (2) induction classes, which were organised for in-coming pupils with a low proficiency in Greek; (3) Greek language support classes, which aimed at addressing specific needs particular pupils had and (4) the after-school evening programme. In addition, I observed interactions during free time and lunchtime and attended school-sponsored excursions and school celebrations.

Moreover, I extended my participant observation to the neighbourhood, by appealing to the network of friends and acquaintances I had developed prior to the initiation of the fieldwork. These were areas in the neighbourhood where mainly Greek/Turkish bilingual

[21] See Appendix I/A, Table 1, for the distribution of pupils across 4th, 5th and 6th grades.

children aggregated in the evenings and on weekends. Although a significant part of child socialisation takes place at home among family and friends, children of all ages gathered at the Community Centre of the Municipality of Athens, the local park and in the streets outside their homes. Unlike the school setting, participant observations in the neighbourhood were more limited, as children tended to be highly mobile.

In addition, I was able to expand participant observation to the homes of Greek/Turkish bilinguals. Pupils invited me to their homes to meet family members, due to my association with the school. During those weekly visits, I interacted usually with female family members. With few exceptions, male members were absent, either at work or at the local coffee shop (3.1.2). Participant observations at home were more relaxed and not limited by time constraints.

Extending participant observation to the neighbourhood and home domains enabled me to gain valuable insights into the private worlds of the members of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi. I have thus drawn upon these insights to construct the ethnographic description of the community (3.1.1-3.1.6).

2.3 Tape recordings [22]

All the interactions recorded were naturally-occurring exchanges, rather than exchanges prompted by the researcher, as in the case of sociolinguistic interviews (Schiffrin 1994: 235). Tape recordings were made in four settings: (1) in the classroom during instruction

[22] Even though initially I had planned to make video recordings in order to supplement the tape recordings and highlight aspects of the interactions I would not be able to capture by relying solely on tape recording, during the fieldwork, I decided it would be extremely intrusive to do so at school. Equally importantly, I lacked technical support (e.g. video equipment and assistants) to make these recordings (cf. Goodwin C. 1994).

and during free time; (2) in the schoolyard during free time; (3) in the school's dinning area during lunchtime and (4) in settings outside the school during field-trips and school celebrations. The rationale guiding the selection of these diverse settings acknowledges that an important part of the pupils' participation in school life and socialisation at school takes place in settings outside the classroom (i.e. in the school playground, in the dinning-hall and in field-trips). More importantly, recording in diverse settings allows for the investigation of a range of language contact occasions in a wealth of contexts (Pratt 1987).

I was present in most of the tape-recorded interactions. Some I recorded myself, while for others I relied on informants. Informants were selected on the basis of their interest and willingness to engage in the tape recording process [23]. Initially, I closely monitored tape recordings, checking, for instance, to see whether it was necessary to change the side of the tape or whether the volume needed adjustment. Afterwards, I interfered with the recordings periodically, confining myself to sporadic checks, since it became evident that informants were capable of monitoring them

A small number of recordings were made in my absence in interactions during free time and during lunchtime. Although these recordings provided me with a different perspective of the activities taking place, the major drawback was that I missed out on indispensable contextual information that could have provided me with a more comprehensive picture of these exchanges.

[23] The informants who made recordings for me were: (1) most 4th graders; (2) one Greek/Albanian bilingual attending 5th grade and (3) five Greek/Turkish bilinguals and two Greek-speaking monolinguals from 6th grade. I gratefully acknowledge their help.

I collected recordings of same-age, mixed-age, same-sex and mixed-sex groupings. Overall, recordings of pupils in linguistically and culturally mixed groupings outnumbered those of pupils in linguistically and culturally homogeneous ones. In many exchanges, form teachers were also present. Approximately 53 hours and 40 minutes of talk-in-interaction was recorded. Table 2.1 presents the total number of hours and minutes that were recorded per grade and setting during the four-month fieldwork at school.

Table 2.1. Total number of hours and minutes recorded per grade and setting

Grade: Hours	In the classroom, during instruction	In the classroom & in the schoolyard during free time	In the school dinning hall, during lunchtime	In settings outside the school, during different extracurricular activities
4th: 29h 25min	20h 15mim	4h 25min	1h	3h 45 min
5th: 5h 35min	4h	15 min	35 min	45 min
6th: 14h 40min	10h 10 min	15 min	1h 15 min	3 h
4th & 5th: 1h			1h	
Greek language support class (5th & 6th)	30min			
Greek language support class (4th grade) [24]	3h 30min			

As Table 2.1 demonstrates, the majority of the recordings were made in 4th grade. This is due to a number of reasons, both situational and interpersonal: (1) unlike 5th and 6th grades, 4th grade had only one section with a small number of pupils; (2) classes took place in a small classroom which made recording conditions favourable; (3) from the onset of the fieldwork, I established a very good working relationship with the 4th grade form teacher and the 4th grade pupils and (4) the 4th graders appeared to form a unified

[24] I conducted this class with one of the Greek-Turkish bilingual 4th graders.

group whose members interacted more extensively than those in other grades (see 3.4). This meant that the existence of sustained daily interactions among 4th graders created suitable conditions for the investigation of linguistic and cultural contact.

2.4 Semi-structured qualitative interviews

From the onset of my fieldwork, I ensured that I asked clarification questions and engaged in informal discussions with pupils, teachers and parents. I kept field notes of these interactions, which I then used to enhance and test the validity of my understandings and interpretations of different aspects of the cultures and groups I had set to explore. This was achieved by checking my understandings and interpretations against those of the observed (Cameron et al 1992). Constant cross checking was indispensable, especially since I was investigating communities and groups in which I was both an insider and an outsider (see 2.7, for a discussion).

For ethnography, informant interviews are regarded as a valuable source of data, as they can provide a window into the social worlds of the groups under investigation (Miller & Glassner 1997). Sociolinguistic interviews in particular have been extensively used as data sources for the study of language, which has led to the examination of the interview as a 'speech event'. According to Milroy (1987), in Western societies, the interview is viewed as a speech event that usually involves two participants, who are frequently strangers and have clearly defined roles (i.e. that of the interviewer and the interviewee). Conversational interactions between these two participants are characterised by unequal turn-taking rights, in that one participant (the interviewer) controls the interactional floor by selecting topic and questions, while the other participant (the interviewee) has to

respond to the interviewer's questions (: 41). Given this mismatch of power and dominance deriving from the participants' discourse roles, interviews can serve gate-keeping functions in institutional settings (Erickson & Schultz 1982).

Furthermore, the investigation of the interview as a speech event has brought forth the issue of inter-cultural variation regarding interrogative behaviour. For instance, members of different communities may respond differently to direct questions as a means of seeking information (Goody 1978, reported in Milroy 1987: 42). Such variation has important implications for the data collected and the types of generalisations that can be drawn from them regarding language use.

As a result, interview data may pose a number of problems that the researcher is called to address. Interviews may not elicit as large volume of talk as required: interviewees may respond briefly and to the point, either due to the structural characteristics of the interview, or because they may view the interview as some kind of 'test', especially when it is conducted by a stranger (Milroy 1987: 46-47). Additionally, in cases where the status of the interviewer is significantly lower than that of the interviewee, the latter may opt for a 'role-reversal' (i.e. to reverse the roles of the interviewer and the interviewee) leading to a breakdown of the interview (: 47).

In the light of these parameters, I opted to 'fudge' the nature of this speech event in the interviews I conducted. I organised the interviews either toward the end of the four-month fieldwork or after the fieldwork was completed. By that time, I had developed strong inter-personal ties with the interviewees, thereby significantly diminishing asymmetries of status, education and age. Indeed, the significance of establishing rapport

and trust with one's interviewees becomes all the more pertinent, when interviewer and interviewees do not share membership in the same social categories (Miller & Glassner 1997).

Moreover, the interviews I conducted were semi-structured. This meant that I had drafted a list of topics I wanted to explore, but allowed interviewees to select and initiate their own topics. This gave them the opportunity to play an active role in co-constructing the interview event. Moreover, I attempted to break the standard interview participant structure by conducting both individual and group interviews. When interviewed in groups, interviewees are likely to converse with one another rather than merely assume the roles of the respondents (Rampton 1992, 1995).

Tables 2.2a-2.2c below illustrate the different types of interviews, the date they were recorded, the interviewees, the duration of the interviews and whether they were tape-recorded or recorded in notes.

Table 2.2a. Interviews with pupils

Types of interviews: Interviewees	Hours: Tape-recorded or written notes
Follow-up interview (23/4/99): four Greek-Turkish bilingual 4th graders	1h 30 min: tape-recorded
Survey interview 1 (26/2/99): one Greek-Turkish bilingual 4th grader	3h: tape-recorded
Survey interview 2 (28/4/99): four Greek-Turkish bilingual 4th graders, one Greek-Turkish bilingual 3rd grader and one Greek-Turkish bilingual 1st grader [25]	2h: tape-recorded
In-depth interview (15/9/99): four Greek-Turkish bilinguals and five Greek monolinguals	30min: written notes

[25] Although my initial intention was to conduct the interview exclusively with Greek-Turkish bilingual 4th graders, the other two children, who were present at the time, indicated a strong desire to participate. In fact, their participation made the interview livelier, leading to an increase in the exchanges among the interviewees and to the breaking of conventional interview participant structure.

Table 2.2b. Interviews with teachers

Types of interviews: Interviewees	Hours: Tape-recorded
Survey interview 3 (28/8/99): 4th grade teacher	2h 30min: tape-recorded
Survey interview 4 (21/9/99): 6th grade teacher	1h 30min: tape-recorded
Survey interview 5 (15/10/00): Former teacher [26]	1h: tape-recorded

Table 2.2c. Interview with minority member

Type of interview: Interviewees	Hours: Tape-recorded
Survey interview 6 (7/9/99): Minority member [27]	1h 30min: tape-recorded

As Tables 2.2a-c above indicated, I conducted few tape-recorded interviews. This was due to the availability and effectiveness of clarification questions and informal discussions throughout the fieldwork and because of time limitations. The majority of the interviews I conducted resembled what Miller & Glassner (1997) refer to as 'survey interviews' (: 105). Their purpose was to gather information concerning a range of themes and issues that had emerged during the fieldwork in a more organised and detailed manner. Some of the topics that were addressed with 4th graders were: (1) friendship ties inside and outside school; (2) peer group dynamics; (3) hobbies, interests, favourite music and TV shows and (4) intra-community and inter-community relations.

Some of the topics I discussed with teachers included: (1) a detailed account of the history of the school and the changes it had undergone; (2) relations between majority and minority members at school and in the neighbourhood; (3) pupils' academic

[26] This teacher had taught in the school for two years (1996-1998). During these two years he also conducted fieldwork for his PhD. thesis in social anthropology.

[27] At the time of the interview, this interviewee was in his mid-twenties. He had been trained as a primary school teacher to work in the Greek-Turkish bilingual minority schools in Western Thrace. By virtue of his teacher training and strong community ties, he frequently liaised between teachers and parents of Greek-Turkish bilinguals.

performance and school attendance rates; (4) problems at school and/or at home and (5) family background information regarding individual pupils. Some of the topics covered in the interview with the minority community member were: (1) the histories of the two communities in the area of Gazi; (2) interpersonal relations, tensions and problems within and between the two communities and (3) a range of broader social issues, such as gender issues, employment, education and living conditions in Gazi.

Additionally, I conducted one 'follow-up interview' (cf. Rampton 1992). For the purposes of this interview, I chose four short excerpts from the tape-recorded data to play to a group of 4th graders. My aim was to elicit responses regarding references they had made to specific cultural practices and socialisation routines. Moreover, I organised one 'in-depth interview' that exclusively focused on nicknames, their history and use.

Overall, with the exception of the follow-up interview that generated less information than I had anticipated [28], the survey and in-depth interviews yielded rich data. I have extensively drawn on those interview data for the ethnographic accounts of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi (3.1-3.1.6), the school (3.2-3.2.2) and the peer group (3.4-3.4.3). Furthermore, they have contributed to my understanding of the various cues peer group members employed to construct play frames (4.5.1- 4.5.8) as well as to the analysis and interpretation of playful talk at school (chapters 5-7).

[28] The pupils participating in the interview in question had great difficulty focusing on one single topic at a time, constantly changed the topic and flouted turn-taking rules. This transformed the interview process into a chaotic affair. Due to time limitations, I was not able to conduct any more follow-up interviews.

2.5 Other sources: questionnaires, pupil profiles and a film

Besides the data collection methods discussed in the previous sections, supplementary data were elicited through questionnaires, pupil profiles and a film. I devised a written five-part questionnaire to all the pupils attending 4th, 5th and 6th grades towards the end of the fieldwork (see Appendix I/B-C). I was present during the completion of the questionnaire in order to clarify points and answer questions.

The purpose of the questionnaire was to elicit responses quickly and effectively from a large pool of participants. Topics were clustered into five sections: (1) personal and family information; (2) hobbies, interests, preferences; (3) patterns of primary and secondary socialisation; (4) language practices and preferences and (5) future plans. The participants' responses were examined qualitatively rather than quantitatively and functioned as an additional source of information about the pupils' lives inside and outside school [29].

The hand-written pupil profiles had been completed by the 4th grade form teacher for each pupil at the end of 2nd and 3rd grades [30]. Pupil profiles were based on a standardised question-answer format that had been designed by a member of staff of the University of Athens (see Appendix I/D-E). Their purpose was to provide the teacher with a grid to monitor and assess pupils' academic performance at the end of each school year. Pupil profiles covered the following areas: (1) biographical and personal information; (2) communicative competence at school and academic performance across the curriculum

[29] A drawback of the questionnaires was that participant responses tended to be short. This could have been due to the design of the questionnaire, notably the length of the questionnaire and the space allocated for each answer, and the fact that most pupils had very little prior experience in completing questionnaires.
[30] I am grateful to the 4th grade teacher for making these profiles available to me.

and (3) aspects of the pupil's linguistic proficiency in Greek. Although narrow in scope, pupil profiles provided useful insights into the 4th graders past schooling and language learning experiences and contributed towards the compilation of their profiles for the thesis (3.4.1)

Lastly, I have drawn insights from a film about the 87th primary school of Gazi that was made by an independent film maker [31]. The 55-minute film was entitled 'Το Σχολείο' ('The School') and it was directed by Marianna Oikonomou and produced by Amalia Zepou in 2001. The film received critical acclaim in Greece and won 1st prize in the International Film Festival in Thessaloniki the same year. It provides a lucid account of the lives of members of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi, by focusing mainly on the school and to a lesser extent on the community. Although this film was made two years after the completion of my fieldwork, it provides useful insights into majority-minority relations and attitudes in Gazi (see 7.1.4).

2.6 On the observer's paradox

One of the most important parameters of fieldwork concerns what is referred to in the literature as 'the observer's paradox' (Milroy, Li & Moffat 1991). The observer's paradox is defined as the effect the observer's presence and role have on the data. Milroy, Li & Moffat maintain that it is better to account for the observer's paradox systematically, by addressing it in the data collection, rather than regarding it as unimportant and assuming that the role of the observer is insignificant (ibid: 293).

[31] I thank Mata and Costas Varlas for sharing a copy of the film with me.

Following Milroy, Li & Moffat, I attempted to address this issue by making participant observation procedures more accountable and replicable, thereby increasing the validity of the data. One way to account for the role of the observer and her interactional contribution to the data is by developing for her culturally recognised social roles: in my case, these were the roles of 'a friend of a friend', 'teacher' and 'researcher' (2.2).

Moreover, from the onset of the fieldwork, I made a point of answering questions regarding my presence at the school as succinctly as possible. Once I became better acquainted with pupils, I was flooded with personal questions regarding my age, profession, marital status, family background as well as questions concerning my research and the purpose of my presence at the school. Greek/Turkish bilinguals, in particular, seemed impressed and amused by my knowledge of Turkish and asked me questions in Turkish, such as 'adın ne?', ('what's your name?'), 'kaç yasında?', ('how old are you?'), 'nerelisin?', ('where are you from?'), in what appeared to be mini tests to assess my proficiency [32].

I actively participated in the daily school lives of the pupils I was studying. For instance, I accompanied them in field trips to museums and archaeological sites, attended school celebrations and took part in class activities. I substituted for absent teachers, taught English classes and helped teachers supervise pupils during free time and lunchtime.

[32] Note that in general I was addressed in Greek. I have tried to interpret this use of Greek, regardless of my knowledge of Turkish, in a number of possible ways and have reached the following tentative conclusions: by virtue of my age and past teaching experiences, I was associated with the school and its teachers. To the mind of the Greek-Turkish bilinguals, this institution and its representatives are intricately connected with the majority language and culture (*survey interview 5*, 15/10/00). By being addressed in Greek, I was allocated an outsider status vis-à-vis the Greek Muslim community of Gazi. In addition, I could speak and mainly understand Standard Modern Turkish rather than the Turkish variety spoken in Gazi. In this respect, my conversational Turkish differed from theirs. The ambiguous attitudes towards Standard Modern Turkish, which members of this minority group identified as 'kıbarca' (meaning 'polite', see 3.4.3), could have reflected on me as a language user as well.

Overall, I sought to minimise the impact of my presence and reduce the possibility of contrived or artificial conduct from the part of those being observed, by actively participating in the daily school life over a period of four months, exposing myself to as many interactional occasions as possible and collecting data in diverse settings.

The issue of intrusiveness and the effect the presence of the researcher and the tape-recorder can have on data collection also informed the way I set about making the tape recordings. Taking as a point of departure Duranti's (1997) claim that:

> perhaps with the exception of obvious camera behaviors (e.g. certain kinds of camera-recognitions or salutations like staring into the camera and smiling), people do not *invent* [italics in the text] social behavior, language included out of the blue (: 118),

my assumption was that people would be too involved with their own lives to make significant alternations just for the sake of the tape-recorder. Nevertheless, to minimize the intrusiveness of the recordings, I varied tape recording equipment, depending on the setting. In interactions during instruction, I used an external microphone attached to a mini tape recorder that was placed on one of the pupil's desks. When I shifted my focus to a small group of pupils or to a particular individual, I used a small wireless clip microphone that could be easily attached to pupils' shirts. This wireless clip microphone was connected to a mini tape recorder that was placed either on the desk or concealed in the pupils' pockets. Concerning tape recordings in all other settings, I used either a small wireless clip microphone or a mini recorder with an internal microphone. Of all this equipment, the most effective and least intrusive was the small wireless clip microphone, as it allowed its bearer freedom of movement while ensuring high quality recording.

2.7 The researcher in the field: competing roles and identities

According to Duranti (1997), ethnographers operate as:

> **cultural mediators** [bold in the text] between two traditions: one established by their discipline and their particular theoretical orientation and the other represented by the people they study and live with, who have their own understanding of what the fieldworkers should be doing and how they should conduct themselves (: 91).

This position generates a set of role relationships between the researcher and others working in the same discipline as well as between the researcher and the researched. The first set of role relationships is based on the researcher's position within an academic discipline. This takes the form of adhering to certain theoretical and methodological positions. On the basis of these positions, the researcher argues why one particular community, culture or group is worth studying and, within this context, why certain research questions are worth pursuing.

The second set of role relationships involves those relationships that emerge during interactions between the researcher and the researched. Role relationships are negotiated during such interactions that allow the researcher to gain access to and observe a particular community or group. These roles may confine the researcher to simply becoming an observer of a given community or group. Others may involve ascribing to the researcher a specific role within the context of a complex web of relationships with the researched.

A third set of role relationships may develop between the first and second set of roles. These include instances when the researcher has gained such familiarity with the community or group that she can be considered as their 'legitimate spokesman'. In such

instances, the researcher may be called upon to act on behalf of the interests of the community or group, by intervening between them and social or government agencies (e.g. the Ann Arbor Trial) (Rampton 1992).

All these sets of role relationships clearly indicate that the ethnographer has to be able to communicate within and across communities and groups. This skill is referred to as 'boundary spanning' and is defined as:

> the active participation in a variety of cultures that are involved with and impinge upon a project (Goertz & Le Compte 1984: 100).

Therefore, via boundary spanning, the researcher can be part of any number of different communities and groups, without necessarily sharing an equal degree of membership in all of them.

Regarding the first set of role relationships, these were characterised by my affiliation with a British University as a post-graduate research student and my academic training as an applied linguist and sociolinguist with a strong ethnographic orientation. This set of role relationships was also influenced by past interactions with members of the Greek Muslim community as a volunteer tutor (cf. 0.1, 2.2).

Concerning the second set of role relationships, I negotiated a number of different social roles. To my mind, these roles were not mutually exclusive and some of them operated simultaneously. As mentioned (2.2), with members of staff, I negotiated access to the school and their classrooms by making use of the social roles of 'a friend of a friend', 'fellow teacher' and 'post-graduate student'. To pupils, I was formally ascribed the social

roles of the 'teacher' and 'researcher'. Pupils frequently oriented to these teacher-ascribed roles, yet at times contested them (see 7.3, for a discussion).

Through out the fieldwork, I made a consistent effort to redress asymmetries of power, knowledge and resources associated with age, education and status vis-à-vis the pupils. For instance, I dressed casually, became informed about the latest soap operas, basketball and football players, played basketball and football with the boys and tried the hula-hoop with the girls. The purpose of this was not to become an 'insider', which would have been impossible, but rather to disqualify 'obvious reminders of status differences' (Eckert 2000: 71).

For members of the majority and minority with whom I interacted on a regular basis, I was always associated with the school. For certain minority members, my attempts to develop ties with the Greek Muslim community of Gazi conferred me a special 'in-between' status. In this respect, I became the recipient of complaints about the school, its teachers or other children. It was never clear to me whether these complaints required that I act as a 'go-between' between the parents and the school or whether these complaints resembled Jefferson's (1984) talk about troubles. Nevertheless, I was never directly asked to take up an intermediary role and speak on behalf of members of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi. Had my fieldwork been primarily in the community, maybe my role as a 'go-between' would have been different, as I would have been bound with more intricate ties of reciprocity with certain community members.

One issue that concerned me throughout the fieldwork was my role as 'ethnographer and researcher' vis-à-vis the groups and cultures I had set out to investigate. Ethnographic research has repeatedly shown that:

> the relationship between researcher and researched cannot be depicted as a straightforward hierarchical one in which the researcher simply imposes an agenda (Harvey 1992: 75).

On the contrary, research has demonstrated that the parties under investigation have an important say both in the types of data and the occasions where these data will be collected (ibid: 74). Indeed, my experience in the field collaborated these findings: as I realised from the very beginning, my research depended on the willingness of the parties involved to accept my presence in their daily lives and collaborate with me. Moreover, as I frequently inquired into aspects of their lives at school and at home and showed a propensity to learn about them, I was often treated as a 'learner'. Inevitably, this led to renegotiations of the assumed hierarchical relationships between the researcher and the researched (7.3).

Another issue that concerned me had to do with how my social identities had a bearing on both my research and its scope. I was (and perceived by most of the teachers and parents as) an educated Greek Christian woman in my mid-20s from a middle class background, doing research in a state-run primary school in the centre of Athens. As a result, throughout the fieldwork, I struggled with the tensions of simultaneously being both an 'insider' and an 'outsider': I was an insider in relation to the majority language and culture, yet an outsider in relation to the school, teachers and pupils. This precluded sharing assumptions, experiences and a long history of past interactions as well as being

sensitive to cultural norms and regulations associated with the school and its actors [33]. On the other hand, being an outsider made me more sensitive to similarities and differences, urged me to probe into them without relying on what would have been considered by those sharing membership as 'obvious'. This, in turn, sharpened my analysis and interpretation of the data.

After the four month fieldwork, I returned to the field a number of times for short one-day meetings with pupils, teachers and, when possible, minority members with whom I had maintained closer ties. The purpose of these meetings was two-fold. On the one hand, as I started carefully listening to the data and transcribing parts of them, I had questions and points of clarification that needed to be addressed. On the other hand, and, more importantly, I felt that a certain bonding had taken place and certain friendship ties had developed that I regarded as being important. In agreement with Narayan (1993) concerning the bonds we develop with the researched and the consequences these have for the research proper, I strongly believe that:

> what we must focus our attention on is the quality of relations with the people we seek to represent in our texts: are they viewed as mere fodder for professionally self-serving statements about a generalized Other, or are they accepted as subjects with voices, views and dilemmas – people to whom we are bonded through ties of reciprocity and who may even be critical of our professional enterprise? (1993: 672).

2.8 Notes on transcription and translation

The analysis of naturally-occurring interactions relies on the use of a transcription system. Transcription systems, viewed as the means to entextualize speech, have been scrutinized and researchers have focused on a range of questions, such as: (1) how far a

[33] See, however, Zentella (1997) and Panourgia (1995) for problems that may arise when investigating communities to which the researcher also belongs.

transcription can adequately capture what is going on in a given interaction, including the volume of the talk produced as represented in the number of turns a speaker may have taken (Edelsky 1993) and (2) what type of implicit and explicit theoretical assumptions govern the methodological and procedural choices a researcher makes, when adopting one transcription system over another (Mishler 1991; Ochs, 1979).

Bearing these issues in mind, the transcription system employed in the present thesis draws on Tannen (1984) (Appendix II/A). In addition, the transcription of laughter is rendered possible through the use of transcription conventions proposed in Norrick (1993) (Appendix II/B). These two systems were chosen because they were considered readable and relatively simple systems of representation that could adequately complement each other in capturing the complexities of the playful talk.

Given that the transcribed data are audio-recorded, it is not possible to render all the extra-linguistic and paralinguistic cues. In this study, I have tried to be selective in marking in the transcript those cues that have an interactional import on the on-going talk and the subsequent data analysis.

As far as the translation of the Greek excerpts is concerned, I have avoided transliteration and have opted to preserve the original text in Greek. Although many Greek sociolinguists tend to transliterate their data by following the phonetic alphabet (e.g. Georgakopoulou 1997; Marki-Tsilipakou 1994; Pavlidou 1991), it is my belief that preserving phonetic detail with respect to the rules of Greek pronunciation and the particulars of the local articulatory context does not enhance the reader's understanding

of the original text. In cases where phonetics do play an important role in comprehending the data, as in the case of word and sound play, it is indicated in the analysis.

With respect to the English translation of Greek excerpts, word order has been changed, due to differences in word order rules between the two languages. For lexical items that are not translatable into English, such as particles, they are put in single brackets. Concerning transcription conventions, only latches, overlaps and laughter are marked in the English translation. This rule extends to the translation of Turkish into English. In general, the translation of the data tends to be as faithful as possible to the original text. The most demanding task has been translating words and expressions that are part of registers other than the standard, whether Greek or Turkish (e.g. youth varieties and media-inspired talk), idioms and colloquial speech.

2.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the research design and data collection methods of this thesis. After tracing the origins of this study in my prior involvement as a volunteer tutor with the Greek Muslim community of Gazi, I discussed each of the data collection methods, namely: (1) participant observations; (2) tape recordings of naturally occurring interactions; (3) semi-structured qualitative interviews and (4) other sources (i.e. questionnaires, pupil profiles and a film). I discussed these data collection methods in the light of how their findings are to inform the ethnographies of this study (chapter 3) as well as the analysis and interpretation of playful talk, play frames and social identities at school (chapters 4-7).

Moreover, I examined the issue of 'the observer's paradox' (Milroy, Li & Moffat 1991) and investigated how it was addressed in this thesis in relation to participant observation and tape recordings. I probed into the relationship between the researcher and the researched and concluded the chapter with a discussion on transcription and translation.

In the subsequent chapter, I present the ethnographies of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi, the 87th primary school and 4th grade peer group.

Chapter three

The ethnographies
the Greek-Muslim community, the school and the peer group

3.0 Introduction

In chapter 3, I begin with the ethnography of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi. The ethnography highlights aspects of its members' practices, beliefs and ways of life in order to provide a concise profile of the community, especially since this particular community has never been studied from a sociolinguistic perspective (3.1-3.1.6). I proceed with a brief ethnographic account of the 87th primary school with the purpose of foregrounding distinct features of the school (3.2-3.2.2). Subsequent to the ethnography of the school, I present a short description of the organisation of space of the 4th grade classroom (3.3). This is followed by the ethnography of the 4th grade linguistically and culturally mixed peer group. In this description, I focus on illuminating the peer group members' inter-personal relations and friendship ties as well as their language attitudes and linguistic repertoires (3.4-3.4.3).

3.1 The Greek Muslim community [34] of Gazi: a brief history

Gazi [35] is an inner-city neighbourhood that is located in the centre of Athens. It is defined by Peiraios Avenue, Konstandinoupoleos Street and Iera Odos and it boarders with the

[34] The concept of 'community' has come under criticism for implying a homogeneous entity (cf. Rampton 1999, in his discussion of the notion of 'speech community'). As it is shown (3.1- 3.1.6), this is far from the case. In this study, the term 'community' is a direct translation of the Greek word 'κοινότητα', which is used by both majority and minority members to refer to the Greek Muslim residents of Gazi (see *survey interviews 2-6*).

[35] This area of Gazi is also known as Votanikos.

areas of Kerameikos, Metaksourgio and Thiseio. In the late '60s, this area started to decline. Many of its former residents abandoned their homes and moved to leafier parts of Athens and the suburbs. In the early '70s, a small number of Greek Muslims from Western Thrace, attracted by low rents and the type of housing accommodation offered in the neighbourhood (e.g. houses with open-air patios that could accommodate more than one family under the same roof) started populating Gazi (*survey interview 6*, 7/9/99).

Historically, the members of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi belong to the Muslim minority of Western Thrace (μουσουλμανική μειονότητα της Δυτικής Θράκης). This minority is identified as an indigenous religious minority. It has a unique legal status in that its members' linguistic, cultural and religious rights are safeguarded by the Lausanne Treaty (an international treaty that was signed by Greece and Turkey in 1923). In addition, these rights are based on reciprocity, in other words, they are determined by those of the Greek Orthodox population residing in Istanbul, Turkey (Divani 1995; Stavros 1995).

Presently, the members of the Greek Muslim minority residing in Western Thrace are estimated around 80.000-90.000 [36]. The Muslim minority is comprised of three groups on the basis of their 'ethnic' background: (1) those of Turkish origin (50%); (2) those of Pomak origin (35%), and (3) those of Rom origin (15%) (Sella-Mazi 1997a). This 'ethnic' categorisation, however, fails to capture the complexity of its members' linguistic repertoires. Over the past 20 years, Turkish has developed as the lingua franca of the minority. As a result, speakers of Romak origin, especially those residing in urban

[36] There is no census information available. However, it is estimated that around 25.000 have immigrated to Northern Europe (mainly in Germany) and around 20.000 have moved to urban centers in Greece. Around 10.000 are currently living in the greater Athens area, including Gazi (Embeirikos et al 2001: 51).

centers and in areas with turcophone populations, are bilingual in 'Πομάκικα' ('Pomakika' [37]) and Turkish. The overwhelming majority of speakers of Rom origin do not speak Romany as their home language, but Turkish (Embeirikos et al 2001; Zegginis 1994). These findings point to a language shift from Pomakika and Romany to Turkish. This shift has been accelerated by the use of Turkish as one of the three languages of instruction (along with Greek and Classical Arabic [38]) in Greek-Turkish bilingual schools in Western Thrace as well as access to Turkish mass media, especially satellite TV.

Following Embeirikos et al (2001) and Zegginis (1994), the members of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi are identified as 'Μουσουλμάνοι Τσιγγάνοι' ('Muslim Roma'). Members of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi, however, seem to have ambiguous attitudes vis-à-vis this other-ascribed ethnic/cultural categorisation, because it suggests an affiliation with Romany-speaking Muslim Roma. Members of the community have repeatedly claimed that they are to be distinguished from the latter because they speak Turkish and have a fixed domicile (*field-notes*, 5/2/99; also Maratzides & Mavromatis 1999).

This bid for ethnic/cultural differentiation vis-à-vis Romany-speaking Muslim Roma is illustrated in the following two instances: In the centre of Athens, Romany-speaking and Turkish-speaking Muslim Roma reside in separate, though adjoining neighbourhoods (*survey interview 5*, 15/10/00). In addition, members of the Greek Muslim community of

[37] Pomakika is a Slavic variety with many loan words from Greek and Turkish (Kanakidou 1994).
[38] Classical Arabic is taught for religious purposes (i.e. to recite the Qu'ran). In Western Thrance, Qu'ranic classes are also held in mosques and in religious schools ('μεντρεσέδες', 'medreses').

Gazi repeatedly complained about being degradingly called 'γύφτοι' ('gypsies') [39] by other turchophone Muslims residing in Western Thrace (*field-notes*, 5/2/99; Avramopoulou & Karakatsanis 2002).

While few community members identified themselves as Muslim Roma, most exhibited a strong preference for self-reference by opting for either the neutral term 'Ελληνες Μουσουλμάνοι' ('Greek Muslims') or 'Τούρκοι' ('Turks') (*survey interview 6*, 7/9/99; also Troubeta 2001). Nevertheless, to what extent the use of the self-ascription 'Τούρκοι' ('Turks') denotes ethnic affiliation with the most vocal group of the Muslim minority has not been clearly established (cf. Avramopoulou & Karakatsanis 2002; Maratzides & Mavromatis 1999). As Troubeta (2001) illustrates in her study on ethnic/cultural identity construction among the Pomaks and Roma of Western Thrace, there is significant internal differentiation amongst members of these groups, depending on differences at a socio-cultural level, in their belief system, practices, access to material and symbolic resources and ways of life (: 163) [40].

The members of the community of Gazi are currently estimated around 3,000 [41]. Members of this community share strong family and friendship ties with turcophone Muslim Roma residing in other parts of the Prefecture of Attiki and in their villages/towns of origin in Western Thrace. Since the late '80s- early '90s, there has been a steady population influx of immigrants in the area from Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria, Syria

[39] Apart from denoting an ethnic/cultural group, in Greek colloquial speech, the word 'gypsy' is used as a derogatory term. This, in my view, further hinders members of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi from wanting to be associated with this particular ethnic/cultural group.
[40] Although these parameters need to be addressed in the examination of ethnic/cultural self- and other-ascription, they will not be explored in this thesis.
[41] There is no census information available, although there was consensus among my informants that this figure reflects the number of turcophone Muslim Roma residing in Gazi (see *survey interview 5*, 15/10/00 and *survey interview 7*, 7/9/99).

and Egypt. In addition, during the same period, population growth has accelerated by the re-settlement of members of the majority in Gazi. This has coincided with the inauguration of a process of 'gentrification' of the area spearheaded by the Municipality of Athens (*survey interview 3*, 28/8/99).

In recent years, Gazi has been changing rapidly and it is being transformed from a mainly residential area to an aspiring entertainment stronghold. These changes have brought about a significant rise in property prices forcing some families from the minority community in question to move out (ibid). For the majority, however, these changes have been well-received: they are viewed as the golden opportunity for Gazi to shed away the stigma of an inner-city area ('υποβαθμισμένη περιοχή') (*film source: 'The School'* 2001).

3.1.1 Earning a living

Most members of the community belong to the lower socio-economic strata, mainly working class. Although unemployment rates are high, especially among the younger male generation, minority community members fall under the following socio-economic categories: (1) most work either as skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled workers in factories and local crafts workshops or they are employed as seasonal labourers; (2) some are state-employed (e.g. in banks, hospitals, etc.) in menial jobs; (3) very few are self-employed (e.g. musicians) or run local businesses (e.g. coffee houses, kebab shops, small convenience stores, a video club specialising on imported Turkish films and Turkish music and a martial arts school); and (4) few, the poorest ones, collect and sell recyclable

material such as aluminium, paper, glass [42] (*survey interview 6*, 7/9/99). Most families rent out small houses with patios or flats while some have bought apartments in the area (ibid).

In this community, there are strict, gender-based patterns of division of labour: women rarely work (*field-notes*, 26/2/99). If they do so, they work as unskilled factory workers or are state-employed. A small number are self-employed (e.g. hairdressers and seamstresses) and work at home. In general, women are discouraged from seeking employment outside the home, unless they have strong financial incentives and job security (e.g. permanent employment in the state sector or imminent needs). Otherwise, they are responsible for attending to the daily needs of their families (e.g. housekeeping chores, shopping) and child rearing (ibid).

3.1.2 Gender identities

Gender relations among community members are governed by a high degree of intra-community conformity to shared norms and expectations (*survey interview 6*, 7/9/99). Individual or family conduct and reputation are relentlessly scrutinised, criticised or applauded leading to the reproduction and reinforcement of these norms (Hirschon [1989]1998 [43]). This is best articulated in the marriage imperative (ibid; also *survey interview 6*, 7/9/99). Men and women are encouraged to marry young (in their mid- to late-teens) and immediately start a family: on average, most couples have 3 to 5 children.

---

[42] Note that often in the same family one member may have permanent state employment, while another may work in a factory or ran a video store. In this respect, these categories are not mutually exclusive.
[43] Hirschon discusses similar findings among members of a Greek refugee community from Asia Minor, Turkey, living near the port of Pireaus.

In addition, social conformity is reflected in the segregated modes of socialisation between men and women (*field-notes*, 26/2/00). Women socialise with other women at home, while men spend a considerable part of their free time exclusively in male company in local coffee houses. Occasions for mixed-sex socialisation are restricted to public community celebrations (e.g. marriages, circumcisions and religious holidays) and private gatherings in the homes of relatives and friends (ibid).

Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that regardless of strict social control, especially towards women's public conduct, families do differ in terms of the expectations they have and the possibilities they offer to their female members (ibid). Some parents encourage their daughters to continue school and learn a skill in order to become financially independent. They, also, dissuade them from getting married young and having many children. Some husbands do not object to their wives working outside the house, while others actively support their wives' efforts to learn how to read and write in Greek, with the help of a volunteer tutor (*field-notes*, 2/4/99).

3.1.3 Majority-minority relations

To understand majority-minority relations at a micro-interpersonal level, it is necessary to ground them in the macro-historical context of modern Greek national identity formation. This line of research has addressed how Greeks perceive their national selves and national 'others' (see Chouliaraki [forthcoming], Herzfeld 1987; Pollis 1992; Troubeta 2001). Soysal & Antoniou (2001) identify two significant parameters in the shaping of the Greek national self: (1) the legacy of ancient Greece and (2) the role of Greek Orthodoxy.

These parameters have influenced the ways modern Greek historiography situates the national self vis-à-vis Western European and non-Western European nations respectively. On the one hand, modern Greeks are seen as sharing with Western nations a common Greco-Roman heritage, while simultaneously being at a distance, due to the Greek-Orthodox faith and the Ottoman past. On the other hand, for modern Greeks, the 'Turk' emerges as the significant non-European 'other' (ibid). Consequently, the self- and other-ascription of members of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi as 'Turks' has the effect of identifying this community with the linguistic and cultural 'other' (see 7.1.4, 7.2.2, for a discussion).

At a micro-inter-community level, the positioning of members of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi as the linguistic and cultural 'other' is translated into restricted inter-personal contact between majority and minority members across age groups (*follow-up interview*, 23/4/99). In the neighbourhood, this is symbolically enacted through the occupation of different spaces for recreation. The local playground, basketball courts and the Community Centre of the Municipality of Athens are almost exclusively used by children from the Greek Muslim community. Children from the majority rarely venture to play in these areas (ibid; see also *questionnaires*). This positioning of minority member is also reflected in the scarcity of close inter-community friendships. Community celebrations (e.g. marriages), for instance, are frequently attended by a high percentage of members of the majority (e.g. teachers, colleagues, volunteer community workers), who are almost always outsiders to Gazi (*survey interview 6*, 7/9/99).

In addition, mixed marriages between majority and minority members are seriously discouraged, although there have been occasions where a male minority member has married a female member of the majority (ibid). Negative attitudes towards mixed marriages have been attributed to differences in 'the way of life' ('θέμα ζωής'), especially those associated with the position of women in the two communities rather than those related to religious reasons (i.e. Muslim vs. Christian) (ibid).

Instances of racial tension between the two communities have occurred in periods of political tension between Greece and Turkey (e.g. during the conflict over the island of Imia in 1996) and during election periods (*survey interview 3*, 28/8/99). They have taken the form of writing abuse (e.g. 'Έξω οι Τούρκοι', 'Out with the Turks'), on the outside walls of houses where minority members reside. On one occasion, these threats culminated in an attack by members of a marginal, ultra-right group called 'Χρυσή Αυγή' ('Golden Dawn'), who cruised the neighbourhood firing shots in the air (ibid).

Overall, attitudes vis-à-vis each other within and across the two communities reveal a high degree of polarisation and stereotyping (Avramopoulou & Karakatsanis 2002). With few exceptions, there is strong consensus among majority members that the presence of the Greek Muslim community in Gazi reinforces the area's inner-city status restricting its access to funds from the Municipality of Athens and the Greek state (*survey interview 5*, 15/10/00). These attitudes are reflected in frequent complaints voiced by members of the majority regarding minority members. These include use of Turkish in their presence, lack of interest in the affairs of the neighbourhood, lack of respect for public order (by

highlighting the children's unruly conduct) and abuse of state benefits (ibid; see also *film source: 'The School'* 2001).

Members of the minority, however, counter-argue that although they have been residing in Gazi for years and have developed a sense of belonging there, members of the majority continue to snub them (e.g. they seldom invite them to their homes and private functions). They perceive them as 'βρωμιάρηδες' ('filthy'), 'απολίτιστοι' ('backward') and 'αγράμματοι' ('illiterate') and, most importantly, condescendingly call them 'Τούρκοι' ('Turks') or 'γύφτοι' ('gypsies') (*field-notes*, 24/2/99).

3.1.4 Literacy practices, language use and language attitudes

Members of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi suffer from high levels of illiteracy in both Greek and Turkish, especially among women (*field-notes*, 2/4/99). Although illiteracy features prominently among the first generation (grandparents), a gradual increase in basic literacy skills has been reported among the second generation (parents), particularly those who have been raised in urban centres. Literacy (in Greek), however, has dramatically increased over the last years for the third generation (children). Nevertheless, regular school attendance is still a thorny issue, as many children tend to repeat grades, fail to complete primary school education, while the overwhelming majority do not continue their studies in secondary school (*interview survey 4*, 21/9/99; see also relevant articles in Vafea 1996).

Irregular school attendance could be seen as the outcome of pervasive community attitudes of undervaluing and mistrusting formal education. Formal education is neither regarded as an effective vehicle for self-improvement nor does it seem to be considered

as a pre-requisite for consumerism and prosperity (*field-notes*, 2/4/99). It is worth noting, however, that low levels of proficiency in Greek have been identified as an equally important drawback to further education, since pupils are frequently unable to coop with the demands of secondary school (*interview survey 4*, 21/9/99).

Besides watching Turkish satellite TV (3.3.6), minority members seldom read newspapers and books. Instead, they share a high degree of orality: they are incessant talkers and story-tellers, while children are allocated the roles of by-standers or over-hearers of adult conversations and stories (cf. Heath 1983).

(Oral) competence in Greek and Turkish ranges along a continuum from Turkish monolingualism (among first generation females and children under 5) to varying degrees of Greek/Turkish bilingualism (*field-notes*, 23/4/99) [44]. Competence in Greek heavily depends upon the frequency and intensity of contacts with Greek-speaking monolinguals at school, at work and in the neighbourhood. The fact that male members and school-age children have a higher degree of exposure to interactions with Greek-speaking monolinguals as opposed to women, who work and socialise within the community, is frequently reflected in their degree of bilingualism. As a result, bilingual community members (e.g. children or older siblings) act as 'bilingual brokers' for Turkish-speaking monolinguals (cf. Heller 1998).

Although these findings would suggest a certain degree of compartmentalisation of the two languages into separate domains of language use (the private domain for Turkish and the public domain for Greek, see also Lytra 2001a), such an analysis fails to capture fully

[44] In this thesis, the monolingualism-bilingualism continuum has not been investigated in detail. Preliminary findings presented here are the basis for further research.

the situation of intense language contact that is under way, especially among members of the third generation (the children) [45]. In other words, it is not possible to accurately predict the language an individual may use in a given situation, because community members have found themselves under competing economic, administrative, cultural and religious pressures. Furthermore, the third generation appears to be rapidly shifting from Turkish monolingualism to various degrees of bilingualism, via extensive schooling and contact with the majority language/culture at school and through TV. At this point, however, it is not possible to predict the extent of this language shift across and within gender and age groups.

Nevertheless, the language shift that has been identified toward Greek does not seem to have a lasting effect on the instrumental and symbolic values attached to the variety of Turkish spoken by the members of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi. In the literature, this Turkish variety is referred to as 'Θρακιώτικα' ('Thracian Turkish') or 'Δυτικοθρακιώτικα Τουρκικά' ('West Thracian Turkish') [46]. 'Θρακιώτικα' ('Thracian Turkish') is mainly reserved for colloquial speech and Standard Modern Turkish for formal occasions and the written mode of communication (Embeirikos et al 2001: 39).

For community members in Gazi, the symbolic and instrumental values of Thracian Turkish are two-fold. On the one hand, it distinguishes its members from Romany-speaking, Muslim Roma and symbolically unifies this community in Gazi with other Turkish-speaking Roma communities in Greece and abroad (some families from Gazi

---

[45] For an extensive critique regarding the limitations of domain analysis, see Martin-Jones 1989: 107-113.

[46] 'Θρακιώτικα' ('Thracian Turkish') or 'Δυτικοθρακιώτικα Τουρκικά' ('Batı Trakya Türkeçesi', 'West Thracian Turkish') are characterized by morphological simplification, especially in verb and noun formation, and phonological differences vis-à-vis Modern Standard Turkish. For a contrastive analysis of the Greek and Turkish spoken in Western Thrace, see Sella-Mazi 1993.

have immigrated to Germany). On the other hand, it situates this community in Gazi in the broader Greek Muslim minority of Western Thrace, which employs Turkish as its intra-minority code (cf. Maradzides & Mavromatis 1999; Sella-Mazi 1999b).

The high prestige afforded to Turkish in general by members of the Greek Muslim minority of Western Thrace can be attributed to three main reasons: (1) Turkish is the established intra-minority code in Western Thrace and one of the three languages of instruction (along with Greek and Classical Arabic) in the Greek-Turkish bilingual schools in Western Thrace; (2) it is the home language of the numerically largest, wealthiest and most educated part of the Greek Muslim minority and (3) it is the majority language in neighbouring Turkey, with which many have strong affiliations (Embeirikos et al 2001). Regardless of significant linguistic and cultural differences among members of the Greek Muslim minority [47], Turkish has played a central role in creating a sense of an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991) across communities and national boarders. This has been reflected in the popularity of Turkish satellite TV (cf. Morley & Robins 1995) and the wide dissemination of Turkish popular culture (Empeirikos & Mavromatis 1998/1999) [48].

Linguistic competence in Greek, however, means first and foremost access to valued material resources and the job market and, then, fuller participation in and better

[47] Although there have been repeated efforts to present the Muslim minority of Western Thrace as a homogeneous entity, there are significant differences, such as the degree of integration in mainstream Greek society, the degree of secularism, the value assigned to education and social mobility that should not be overlooked. Also, as mentioned (3.1), Turkish is not the home language of all the members of the Greek Muslim minority.

[48] Naturally, I do not claim that language alone can create a sense of an 'imagined community'. Nevertheless, it can be one of its most salient components (cf. Heller 1999; for a discussion of the significance of language in unifying and politically mobilizing the francophones in Toronto, Canada in the '60s).

understanding of aspects of the majority language and culture (*follow-up interview*, 23/4/99). In other words, while Turkish appears to be allocated both instrumental and symbolic values, Greek seems to have a predominantly instrumental value: Greek is valued as an indispensable resource at school (for children) and in the workplace (for adults). Following Bourdieu (1977), both languages can be viewed as forms of linguistic 'capital' which speakers have access, use, maintain or try to enhance in order to meet the requirements of both community and urban living. As a result, it is not surprising that the importance of both linguistic codes is unanimously recognised and incessantly stressed (*survey interview 1*, 26/2/99).

3.1.5 Religious beliefs and practices

Most members of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi are non-practicing Muslims (*survey interview 6*, 7/9/99). Muslim rituals and practices regarding prayer, fasting and other dietary habits are seldom observed, with the exception of some older, female members (ibid).

A significant number (mostly women and school-age children), however, adhere to some form of religious syncreticism (Troubeta 2001). This is reflected in their belief in the powers of supernatural beings, both malevolent and benevolent. In particular, traces of influences from the beliefs of the Bektaşı religious order were identified in the telling of narratives and the description of practices associated with supernatural beings (*field-notes*, 8/2/99) [49]. This religious order is associated with Shi'ite Islam and is regarded as heterodox Islam (as opposed to Sunni Islam). It is important to note, however, that

[49] The Bektaşı religious order was founded by Hacı Bektaş Veli in the 13th century (Zegginis 1988: 21-26). For a detailed presentation of this religious order and its development in Western Thrace, see Zegginis 1988.

informants did not make any explicit references to the Bektaşı religious beliefs in their talk (ibid). For instance, one of the most prominent references to supernatural beings. especially among school-age children, was that of the 'tekke baba' ('the father of the tekke' [50]) (*field-notes*, 23/5/99). The 'tekke baba' is viewed as the spirit of a departed holy person or of a pious relative, which has the power to protect a house and its residents as well as punish those members of the household who misbehave (ibid) [51].

Another form of religious syncretism is the pervasive practice of adopting Christian/Greek first names along with Muslim/Turkish first names (Troubeta 2001; Zegginis 1994). Members of the community use either of their two names depending on their addressee (*field-notes*, 6/4/99): Christian names are reserved for interactions with members of the majority, while Muslim names with members of the minority. The primary reasons cited for the adoption of Christian/Greek names were high degree of contact with members of the majority (through social ties, occupation and schooling) and accommodation to their needs (due to difficulties in the pronunciation of Muslim/Turkish names) (ibid).

The adoption of Christian names for contact situations, however, may also serve another social function, that of avoiding social discrimination and exclusion. Adult members of this community have repeatedly stressed the various forms of discrimination they have suffered by members of mainstream Greek society (ibid). By adopting a Christian name

---

[50] A 'tekke' is equivalent of a Christian monastery complex. It was the religious, political and educational centre of the Bektaşı religious order. In Western Thrace, such complexes first appeared right after the Ottoman conquest (15th century) (Zeginis 1988: 175-179). Nowadays, most Greek Muslims in Western Thrace are Sunni Muslims. However, there still seem to be Muslims that follow at least some of the tenets and practices of the Bektaşı order.

[51] References to the 'tekke baba' also appear in instances of playful talk (7.2.2).

for contact situations, they attempt to conceal their cultural affiliation with the Muslim community of Gazi and align themselves with the majority. Such re-alignments are necessary as members of the majority often control access to valuable resources, whether symbolic or material (cf. Maratzides & Mavromatis 1999; Troubeta 2001).

In the context of this sustained practice that allows for the strategic co-existence and selective use of both Christian/Greek and Muslim/Turkish names, only one case of name-changing has been identified (*field-notes*, 12/1/99). This was the case of Fanis, one of the male 4th graders members (see 3.4.1, for his profile). He had changed his name from Irfan (Muslim/Turkish) to Fanis (Christian/Greek) and exclusively employed the latter across contexts and interactants. When asked for the purpose of the name-changing, he laconically answered that 'Ιρφάν στα Ελληνικά είναι Φάνης' ('Irfan is Fanis in Greek') [52] (*survey interview 1*, 26/2/99). Goffman (1963) discusses name-changing as a strategy to conceal some form of stigmatised personal or social identity (: 114- 115). The extent to which this was the reason for the 'hellenisation' of Fanis' name was not revealed during the fieldwork.

3.1.6 The media

The media and in particular Turkish satellite TV and Turkish popular music play a central role in the lives of minority community members (*field-notes*, 5/3/99). Regardless of socio-economic standing, every household has a satellite dish that is prominently installed on the roof of the house. Although Greek TV is watched as well (e.g. soap operas, sports and occasionally the news), Turkish satellite TV dominates both private and public spheres: women and children watch old films made in the '50s and '60s, soap

[52] The photic link between Irfan and Fanis is worth noting.

operas and popular variety shows, at home, while men watch sports, the news and an occasional film, in the local coffee house (ibid).

Apart from providing information on current affairs in Turkey and the world at large and being an inexhaustible source of home entertainment, satellite TV is also the most important tool for the dissemination of Turkish culture (cf. Sella-Mazi 1999a). The latest popular Turkish music hits are imported to Gazi via satellite TV rather than via the radio or tapes (*field-notes*, 5/3/99, see also Embeirikos & Mavromatis 1998/1999). For school-age children, Turkish satellite TV has an additional educational role with implications for language learning: Turkish satellite TV can aid them in improving their command of Standard Modern Turkish. A similar role has been attributed to Greek TV in aiding both school-age children and female adults, with limited contact with Greek-speaking monolinguals, to improve their Greek (*field-notes*, 2/4/99).

It is worth mentioning, however, that researchers have critically examined the centrality of satellite TV (and home video viewing) as 'a response to the social and cultural marginalisation of minorities' within majority cultures (Gillespie 1995: 79). Through satellite TV, minority members isolate themselves from the majority and seek to recreate their homeland in another place (ibid). While this side effect of satellite TV cannot be dismissed, such a link between Turkish satellite TV and the marginalisation of members of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi was not established. Instead, the creative transformation of material from Greek and Turkish TV sources informs the construction of play frames among peer group members (chapters 4-6).

3.2 The school: an overview of the pupil population

Until the late '80s, registration and attendance rates of pupils from the Greek Muslim community were very low (*field-notes*, 17/9/00). From the late '80s- early '90s onwards, patterns of registration and attendance shifted dramatically, as an increasing number of pupils started attending school, on a more regular basis. In addition, from that period onwards, pupils whose home language was one other than Greek and Turkish started enrolling in the school in small numbers (ibid).

In recent years (1998-2001), the number of majority and minority pupils has remained roughly equal, with some annual variation, while the number of pupils whose home language is one other than Greek and Turkish (such as Albanian, Chinese, Bulgarian, Ukrainian, Arab and Rom) has been steadily increasing (ibid) [53].

3.2.1 The school as a site for change

Due to the unusually high percentage of pupils with a home language other than Greek (around 50% of the total school population) in 1996, the Ministry of Education took the initiative to alter the status of the school and transform it into one of the first 'διαπολιτισμικά σχολεία' ('inter-cultural schools') in Athens (National Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs in collaboration with the National and Capodistrian University of Athens 1998: 14). Following Androusou (1996), inter-cultural schools acknowledge the pupils' diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds and prior inter-cultural experiences as positive and constructive components for language teaching and learning (: 11). These schools provide more learner-centred environments, where pupils

[53] Children whose home language is one other than Greek and Turkish are not dealt with in this thesis.

learn to accept, respect, understand and appreciate diversity, both at school and in their respective communities (see relevant articles in Vafea 1996).

The need for this top-down initiative regarding the change of status of the school and the adoption of the inter-cultural regime was a response to: (1) high levels of absenteeism among Greek-Turkish bilingual children; (2) negative attitudes towards schooling; (3) low levels of active participation in class and lack of motivation to do so; (4) inadequate concentration on schoolwork and (5) overall low academic performance (*survey interview 4*, 21/9/99; see also Vafea 1996) [54]. These problems were further accentuated by the fact that, for Greek-Turkish bilinguals, Greek was their community language (*survey interview 4*, 21/9/99). This meant that they had difficulties coping with the level of proficiency required in order to successfully follow the school curriculum. As a result, a large number were being excluded from the learning process and increasingly becoming marginalised within the school, which had led to tensions among older pupils (ibid).

The change of status of the school and the introduction of the inter-cultural regime was supplemented by another top-down initiative in the following year (1997-1998). A three-year pilot programme was launched by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with the University of Athens [55]. The goals of the pilot programme were: (1) to provide in-service training for the teachers teaching at this school, by focusing on topics, such as bilingualism and biculturalism, academic failure and success, Greek as a

[54] Note that apart from high levels of absenteeism, the other problems mentioned, especially lack of motivation and low academic performance, were prevalent among some Greek-speaking monolinguals attending this school. It is not clear to what extent the low socio-economic and educational level of majority members residing in the area of Gazi could account for these findings (but see Costouli 1997, 1998 regarding the relationship between language and social class in the Greek educational context).

[55] To situate this pilot programme in policies on bilingual education in Greece at the time of the fieldwork, this programme was part of a larger project whose aim was to improve the education of pupils from the Greek Muslim minority in Western Thrace (1.2).

second/community language, intercultural education and methods and (2) to introduce an 'ολοήμερο σχολείο' ('all-day school') with extended hours of operation [56] (Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs & National and Capodistrian University of Athens 1998: 14). The all-day school consisted of an optional afternoon programme whose purpose was: (1) to provide homework classes by teachers teaching in the school and (2) to organise a number of regular extracurricular activities (e.g. music, drama and painting classes) by qualified professionals (e.g. artists and musicians) (ibid).

Initially, these top-down changes were received with resistance by some parents from the majority as well as by a small number of teachers (*survey interview 3*, 28/8/99). Although this resistance gradually subsided, the fact that the most pupils participating in the afternoon programme had a home language and culture other than Greek suggests that these changes were not fully accepted by members of the majority (*field-notes*, 29/1/99).

The top-down changes that took place in this school bring forth the particularities of the school in question, which make it differ from most inner-city schools in Athens. While these particularities make this school worth documenting, one could counter-argue that because of them this school is not representative of mainstream inner-city Athenian primary schools, thereby undermining the generalisability of the study's findings. Nevertheless, it is worth keeping in mind what constitutes a mainstream inner-city school is not a straightforward issue, as all schools they differ.

[56] Regular hours of operation of state-run primary schools in Greece are from 8.30am to 13.30pm. 'All-day schools' operate until 5.30pm.

3.2.2 The inter-cultural regime in practice

The two top-down initiatives (3.2.1) and their subsequent implementation played an important role in re-shaping the school as an institution and a site for learning and communication among pupils from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The introduction and development of these two initiatives fostered a 'προστατευμένο περιβάλλον' ('sheltered environment'), whose purpose was to promote communication, mutual respect and understanding across languages and cultures (*survey interview 4*, 21/9/99).

In daily educational practice, the inter-cultural regime influenced the teaching and learning methodology employed. For instance, teachers supported experiential approaches to teaching and learning, encouraged the use of pupils' home languages and bilingual dictionaries and sought to make links with the pupils' home cultures and community experiences. Pupils were encouraged to cooperate in linguistically and culturally diverse, mixed-sex groups, to participate in group-work and to collaborate with pupils across sections and grades in developing small-scale and large-scale projects (*field-notes*, 17/2/99, also Athanasopoulos et al 1997; Lagopoulou & Athanasopoulos 1998; Nikolaou 1997).

This inter-cultural regime, however, was significantly loosened outside the classroom setting. During free time (e.g. in the school-yard, during lunch time) and in school-sponsored activities (e.g. field-trips) pupils interacted in less diverse groupings (*field-notes*, 17/2/99). Instead, gender and linguistic and cultural background were the two most significant parameters that determined the formation and maintenance of groupings (cf.

Deegan 1996). It was observed that 1st to 4th graders engaged in cross-gender mixing more than 5th and 6th graders, where gender segregation was pronounced (cf. Thorne 1986). Moreover, there was a direct correlation between age and degree of cross-cultural mixing: younger pupils (1st to 4th grades) tended to mix more than older pupils (5th to 6th grades) and older girls mixed less than older boys (*field-notes*, 17/2/99).

3.3 The 4th grade classroom: the organisation of space

Although the physical space of the 4th grade classroom resembled that of most conventional primary school classrooms in Athens, the organisation of space aimed at fostering better communication and providing opportunities for group-work. The classroom was a large room located at the end of the corridor, on the second floor of a two-story building.

In the classroom, pupils' desks and chairs were arranged in a semi-square facing the teacher's desk (see Appendix III/A, for photographs of the classroom). There was the blackboard behind the teacher's desk. The classroom also featured a large bookcase where books, past exam papers, notebooks and the pupils' folders were kept. There was a second teacher's desk, located at the rear of the blackboard, where the form teacher kept her books, notes and papers and which she used to correct pupils' homework and to prepare for the lesson. The walls of the classroom were decorated with paintings, photographs as well as class and group projects.

Pupils usually sat next to same-sex peers. Although these seating arrangements were not permanent and pupils changed seats either on their own initiative or when asked by the teacher. they tended to remain in their chosen seats. Teachers rarely sat at their desk

facing the semi-square. Unlike the pupils who were mostly confined to their seats, teachers moved both within and outside the semi-square formed by the pupils' desks as well as along the blackboard. Their constant movement had the purpose, on the one hand, to secure pupils' attention and, on the other hand, to facilitate checking on what they were doing at any point during instruction.

3.4 The 4th grade peer-group

The linguistically and culturally mixed peer group under study is comprised of 5 Greek/Turkish bilinguals and 6 Greek-speaking monolinguals (see Table 3.1 below).

Table 3.1. The 4th graders

	Greek/Turkish bilinguals	Greek monolinguals	Albanian monolingual
Boys	3 Τουτζάι (Tucay) Φάνης (Fanis) Χουσείν (Husein)	4 Γιάννης (Giannis) Κώστας (Costas) Νώντας (Nontas) Μπάμπης (Babis)	0
Girls	2 Μελτέμ (Meltem) Μπαχριέ (Bahrye)	2 Βάσια (Vasia) Μαρία (Maria)	1 Ελόνα (Elona) [57]

This peer group shared certain characteristics that distinguished it from others, at school (*field-notes*, 27/1/99). The members of this peer group shared a long history of sustained daily interactions at school, spanning over a period of approximately four years. This history of past interactions was enhanced by the role of the form teacher, who had been teaching these pupils since 2nd grade (ibid). Te form teacher had a strong commitment to

[57] Elona joined the 4th graders near the end of the school year (April 1999). Her family had just moved to Athens from Albania, where she had been attending primary school. When she came to the school, she could not speak, read or write in Greek. However, she was placed in 4th grade because of her age and received individual tutoring in Greek, on a daily basis. In this respect, even though she was present in some of the interactions I recorded towards the end of my fieldwork, I did not consider her as part of the peer group in question.

the school's inter-cultural regime and adopted teaching and learning methods that aimed at fostering cooperation, respect and cross-cultural understanding among pupils (*survey interview 3*, 28/8/99). The role of the form teacher in promoting these values contributed positively in the development of the peer group's ties, their intensity and durability and created a class that was viewed by other teachers in the school as an team ('ομάδα') (*survey interview 4*, 21/9/99).

The most important distinguishing feature between this peer group and others at school was that its members had created ties that transcended linguistic and cultural boundaries across school settings (*field-notes*, 27/1/99). The close peer group ties among 4th graders, however, were neither static nor unchanging (ibid). Within the context of the peer group, its members negotiated, participated in, gained and restricted access to smaller groupings (ibid). These groupings were mainly based on: (1) gender; (2) status and expertise and (3) the creation of temporary alliances that were formed in the context of a given task or activity (e.g. group work, teasing, chasing).

Peer group members also interacted with others outside the peer group (e.g. boys played sports in mix-age same-sex groups). On those occasions, the members' affiliations to the peer group were temporarily put on hold, while other affiliations (e.g. belonging to a football team) acquired a prominent position (ibid). In other words, peer group members seemed to treat peer group ties and by extension peer group boundaries as fluid and flexible: this allowed for diversity within the group and movement across different groups (cf. Heller 1999).

3.4.1 Peer group members: a profile [58]

Providing a profile for each peer group member is not straightforward, as there are no clear criteria according to which certain characteristics, traits or background information should be regarded as more relevant than other and be included in the profile. Moreover, by isolating certain background information, one runs the risk of placing the peer group members in categories that fall short of capturing the complexity and multiplicity of each member as a human being (cf. Davies 1982). The following profiles aim at providing a sketch of each member that serves as a short introduction rather than a full-scale description.

Boys

Tuncay is a Greek-Turkish bilingual boy. He is cheerful, polite, smart and studious. Unlike the majority of Greek-Turkish bilingual boys of his age, he is not allowed to roam the streets idly or travel to different parts of Athens to play football and video games. He claims that his mother is afraid that something may happen to him, which triggers repeated teasing remarks by Husein (*follow-up interview*, 23/4/99).

Husein is a Greek-Turkish bilingual boy. He is hyper active, outgoing and a good sportsman. He is the class tease. Due to his teasing habits, he is often at odds with Giannis and the two of them quarrel incessantly, without, however, engaging in actual fist fighting. Outside the school, he is the prototypical Greek-Turkish bilingual boy of his age. He maintains close ties with a large mixed-age group of Greek-Turkish bilingual boys and spends his free time outdoors (e.g. doing sports, playing video games). Tuncay

[58] The peer group members' profiles are based on my field-notes from participant observations and informal discussions, semi-structured qualitative interviews and written questionnaires. See Appendix III/B, for photographs of peer group members in different settings.

mockingly refers to him as 'yol kızanı' (literally 'a kid of the streets') (*follow-up interview*, 23/4/99).

Fanis [59] ***(Irfan)*** *i*s a Greek-Turkish bilingual boy. Due to his dark complexion, he often becomes the target of verbal abuse, particularly by older Greek-Turkish bilingual boys, who frequently call him 'αράπη' ('nigger') (*survey interview 1*, 26/2/99). He is a very smart and perceptive boy. Regardless of a severe eye condition, outside school, like Husein, he belongs to the same large mixed-age group of Greek-Turkish bilingual boys, but also socialises with Tuncay.

Giannis is a Greek monolingual boy. He is strong head and can be quite opinionated. These character traits often bring him at odds with the rest of the peer group, especially Husein. His racist remarks towards Greek-Turkish bilingual peers have caused the form teacher to intervene to discipline him. Outside school he socialises with Babis and spends his free time indoors, playing computer games, reading books and watching TV (*questionnaires*).

Costas is a Greek monolingual boy. He is open-minded and inquisitive. Unlike most parents in Gazi, his parents encourage him to have friends from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Outside school he is very good friends with Tuncay (*questionnaires*).

Nontas is a Greek monolingual boy with a distinctly baby face and unusually long dark hair on his arms, which generate teasing remarks (*field-notes*, 27/1/99). Whenever this

[59] See 3.1.5, for a discussion of the use of Christian/Greek names by members of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi.

happens, he reacts very badly by screaming, crying and stamping his feet on the ground. He is very slow in doing things and does not participate in sports, which alienates him from the other 4th grade boys.

Babis is a Greek monolingual boy. He is frequently absent-minded and is constantly being reprimanded by the form teacher for not having done his homework. She frequently punishes him, by banning him from the schoolyard during break time and forcing him to stay in the classroom to finish his homework. He and Giannis are partners in crime, both inside and outside school *(questionnaires).*

Girls

Meltem is a Greek-Turkish bilingual girl. She is very artistic and creative. She likes singing and is tuned into the latest Greek and Turkish music hits. Unlike most Greek-Turkish bilingual girls, she is involved in extra-curricular activities outside school (she attends a foreign language centre to learn English and goes to dance classes). Similar to most Greek-Turkish bilingual girls of her age, however, she spends most of her free time in the company of other female peers in the neighbourhood park or at home, where they watch soap operas. In her free time, she helps her mother with household chores and takes care of her two younger brothers (*questionnaires*).

Bahrye is a rather plum Greek-Turkish bilingual girl. Due to her physique, she often becomes the target of ruthless teasing, especially by Husein. She is smart, strong-willed and always fights back. She is very articulate, which tends to bring her at odds with Vasia. She and Meltem socialise extensively outside school (*questionnaires*).

Vasia is a Greek monolingual girl. She is smart and with a competitive spirit, which often rubs Bahrye and the boys the wrong way. She is tough and wilful, but also sensitive and caring. Outside school she almost exclusively socialises with her three brothers and is responsible for a variety of household chores (*questionnaire source*).

Maria is a Greek monolingual girl. She is a hard-working and quick-witted girl. Outside school, she plays with children that live in the same apartment building as she does. She attends the same foreign languages centre to study English with Vasia, Babis and Giannis do (*questionnaires*).

3.4.2 Friendship ties and gender [60]

Researchers have illustrated the significance of friendship ties in the form either of the close buddy or of the peer group in shaping children's social conduct and attitudes (Deegan 1996; Fine 1981). As Stone & Church (1968) argue,

> the school-age child spends as much of his time as possible in the company of his peers, from whom he learns at first hand about social structures, about in-groups and out-groups, about leadership and followership, about justice and injustice, about loyalties and heroes and ideals (reported in Fine, 1981: 33-34).

Research indicates that girls in particular form close pairs with whom they spend free time (Davies 1982). At school, female peer group members formed a focused all-girls group, regardless of the fact that Meltem and Bahrye had been a close friendship pair outside school (*field-notes*, 27/1/99). In addition, all four girls socialised with different female friends outside the group (ibid).

---

[60] The purpose of this section is to complement the profiles (3.4.1) and furnish indispensable information regarding inter-peer group relations that aid in interpreting aspects of the peer group members' social relations and identities (chapter 7). See also Appendix III/C, for a visual overview of peer group friendship ties.

Unlike the girls, male peer group members exhibited more diffused friendship ties (ibid). Two groupings were identified: (1) one group consisting of Costas, Tuncay, Fanis and Husein and (2) another group comprising of Babis, Giannis and Nontas. The members of the first group were distinguished from those of the second by their active participation in all-boys football teams with older children (5th and 6th graders). The members of second group had limited access to these mixed-age football teams and socialised among themselves or with male friends from other grades.

Female participation in organised play activities (e.g. football and basketball games) was limited (ibid). With the exception of Vasia, who repeatedly tried to penetrate all-male teams and participate in their activities, sports were perceived as a gendered activity that attracted boys rather than girls (cf. Thorne 1986). Unlike schoolyard interactions, however, having lunch was not viewed as a sex-typed activity, as peer group members usually ate in mix-sex groups.

3.4.3 Language attitudes and linguistic repertoires: some observations [61]

Greek-Turkish bilingual peer group members exhibited diverse perceptions and attitudes regarding their repertoires in Greek and Turkish. Some claimed that their Greek was better than their Turkish, while others asserted they understood Turkish better than Greek, because they had had more exposure to the former (*survey interview 2*, 28/4/99). When asked whether they would like to learn Turkish formally at school, some argued that this would hinder their Greek language learning, because they would confuse the two

[61] The purpose of this section is to complement the sections on profiles (3.4.1) and friendship ties and gender (3.4.3), by providing some observations regarding the group members' language attitudes and linguistic repertoires. A more detailed study of language attitudes and linguistic repertoires is outside the scope of this thesis, but could be the topic for further research.

languages (Greek and Turkish) (ibid). Others, however, declared that they already knew how to read and write in Turkish and deemed learning these skills formally at school as unnecessary (ibid). This last point is particularly illuminating, if one bears in mind that their literacy skills in Turkish were confined to reciting parts of the Turkish alphabet and distinguishing most letters in written form (ibid). They were only able to write very simple words in Turkish (frequently the names of football teams, football players, singers and actors), although sometimes they preferred writing Turkish words with Greek characters (see *questionnaires*) [62].

Concerning their attitudes towards 'Θρακιώτικα' ('Thracian Turkish'), the Turkish variety they spoke, they all agreed that it was different from the Turkish on TV and it was associated with the Turkish spoken in Turkey (*survey interview 2*, 28/4/99). The Turkish on TV was readily identified as 'κιμπάρικα' or 'kıbarca' (i.e. Turkish spoken 'politely') (ibid). There was little agreement, however, as to the merits of speaking 'kıbarca'. On the one hand, being able to speak 'kıbarca' was regarded as an asset, a resource, as it allowed one to communicate across communities (cf. Heller 1999). For instance, 'kıbarca' was often reserved for interactions with visiting friends and relatives, especially those living in Turkey (ibid). On the other hand, 'kıbarca' was associated with individuals who tried to put on airs ('αυτοί που θέλουν να κάνουν τους όμορφους') (*survey interview 2*, 28/4/99).

Regarding English language learning, both Greek-Turkish bilingual and Greek-speaking monolingual peer group members converged on its significance. When responding to the

[62] None of the Greek-Turkish bilinguals had received any formal instruction in Turkish. Their literacy skills were based on what their mothers, older siblings and relatives had informally taught them or what they had learn via their exposure to Turkish TV.

questionnaire, a number of peer group members employed English to name their favourite activities, TV series, actors, singers, football teams and football players. The use of English points to some form of prestige associated with this language and reflects a more generalised tendency for English language use in Greece (Apostolou- Panara 1991; Makri-Tsilipakou 1997, 1999; also Goutsos 2000 for English in Cypriot Greek).

At the same time, peer group members were exposed to other foreign languages, both at school and in the neighbourhood. Greek-speaking monolinguals were exposed to Turkish, even though in the questionnaire they failed to include Turkish as one of the languages they know little (*questionnaires*). This could reflect possible negative attitudes towards Turkish as well as tensions between the two communities in the area of Gazi (cf. 3.1.3; also 7.1.4). When interacting with their Greek-Turkish bilingual peers, however, Greek monolinguals appeared to understand the meaning of certain Turkish vocabulary items, such as 'dede' ('grandfather'), 'nine' ('grandmother'), 'pamuk' ('cotton'), and used Turkish one-liners (e.g. 'gel bana', 'come to me') as cues in playful talk (7.1.4).

Greek monolinguals and Greek-Turkish bilinguals were also exposed to other languages (e.g. Albanian) at school and in the neighbourhood, but only Greek-Turkish bilinguals indicated some knowledge of these languages (*questionnaires*). This could be attributed to the fact that they were more mobile and were exposed to more occasions for play with children, from diverse backgrounds, than their Greek monolingual peers (*field-notes*, 27/1/99). In addition, being bilingual themselves could have made Greek-Turkish bilinguals more sensitive to other languages at school and in the neighbourhood. This language awareness component seemed to be lacking from Greek-speaking

monolinguals. The absence of this component could have been further accentuated by the low prestige afforded to other languages, such as Albanian, in Greek society at large. This could have made signalling one's knowledge of this language unfavourable (cf. Koilari 1997).

3.5 Conclusion

As mentioned (1.4), the ethnographic descriptions of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi, the primary school and the peer group have a state-setting function. In this chapter, I presented aspects of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi, (i.e. a brief history of the community, its socio-economic standing, issues of gender, contact with the majority, education, religious beliefs and cultural practices). Its purpose was to situate the school and the peer group members in a broader historical, socio-economic, linguistic and cultural context.

In the ethnography of the school, I discussed the pupil population, the two top-down initiatives (i.e. the implementation of the inter-cultural regime and the three-year pilot programme) and the consequences these initiatives had on relations among pupils. The purpose of this account was to introduce the school as an institution and the different forces that shaped it.

In the short description of the 4th grade classroom, I aimed at orienting the reader in terms of the organisation of space, before focusing on the 4th grade peer group. In the ethnography of the peer group, I sought to bring forth its most significant characteristics, notably its linguistically and culturally mixed composition, and to illustrate how this peer group diverged from others at school. I supplemented this description by providing a

profile of each of its members, a brief presentation of friendship ties and some observations regarding peer group members' language attitudes and linguistic repertoires.

In the following chapter, I identify the categories of analysis of the data that determine the emergence of playful talk in discourse and examine the different verbal activities and contextualization cues employed to construct frames.

Chapter four

The emergence of playful talk in discourse

4.0 Introduction

In chapter 4, I address the emergence of playful talk in the data. I identify four micro-interactional parameters (i.e. setting, participants, task and type of group), which influence the emergence of playful talk in discourse and function as categories of analysis (4.1). Combinations of these four micro-interactional parameters yield six contexts where playful talk occurs. I examine the emergence of playful talk across these contexts, by investigating peer group interactions along the super-ordinate category of the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum (4.2-4.2.5). The ensuing discussion leads to identifying what constitutes playful talk in the 4th grade peer group data and highlights variation in playful talk across the six contexts (4.3- 4.3.2).

In addition, I present the verbal activities, which have been identified in the data and fall under the super-ordinate category of playful talk (cf. 1.7). These are: (1) teasing, (2) name-calling, (3) joking; (4) language play and (5) a range of performance-oriented phenomena, notably singing, crying out, reciting and role enactments. These activities are discussed in terms of their frequency in the data, the contexts in which they occur and the different contextualization cues participants employ to initiate and develop them (4.4-4.4.4.6). Drawing on this discussion, I explore further the contextualization cues peer group members employ to initiate and construct play frames. These are: (1) nicknames; (2) one-liners; (3) songs; (4) style-shifts and code-switches; (5) cries and nonsense cries;

(6) fragments of poems and speeches; (7) terms of verbal abuse and (8) extra-linguistic cues (4.5.1-4.5.8).

4.1 Categories of analysis: micro-interactional parameters

The parameters of setting, participants, task and type of group are the four micro-interactional parameters that influence the emergence of playful talk in discourse. These parameters function as categories of analysis through which one can investigate how playful talk is generated in the peer group members' talk. For the purpose of this thesis, these four parameters have been identified as the most relevant ones (cf. van Dijk 1997). Combinations of these parameters yield six contexts (contexts 1-6) where playful talk occurs [63]. Table 4.1 presents an overview of the four micro-interactional parameters and the six contexts identified.

Table 4.1. An overview of micro-interactional parameters and contexts

Contexts/ Micro-interactional Parameters	Context 1	Context 2	Context 3	Context 4	Context 5	Context 6
Setting: Place Time	in the classroom during instruction	in the classroom during instruction	in the dining hall during lunchtime	in the classroom during free time	in the classroom during free time	in the school yard during free time
Participants	[+P] [+T] [~R]	[+P] [~T] [~R]	[+P] [~T] [~R]	[+P] [-T] [~R]	[+P] [-T] [~R]	[+P] [~T] [-R] [O]
Task	N/A	assigned by T	N/A	assigned by T or chosen by Ps	N/A	N/A
Type of	whole-	small-	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

[63] Note that a seventh context has been identified in the data, which includes interactions outside the school setting (e.g. during school sponsored excursions and fieldtrips). This context, however, is not investigated in this thesis, as it involves interactions outside the school setting. Nevertheless, it can become the focus of future research.

group	group assigned by T	group assigned by T				

The *setting* parameter is comprised of two distinct features: *place* and *time*. The place feature is defined as all the physical spaces where interactions among peer groups members, their teachers and the researcher occurred (i.e. in the classroom, dining hall and school yard). The time feature indicates when interactions took place (i.e. during instruction, lunchtime and free time [64]) and how long they may have lasted.

The *participant* parameter includes the pupils (P), the teachers (T), the researcher (R) and other adults (O) (e.g. the janitor, the cleaning lady etc.) at school. The plus symbol [+] indicates that a given participant takes part in the interaction. The absence of symbol in the bracket [ ] shows that a particular participant is present during the interaction, but does not participate in it (e.g. the janitor during schoolyard exchanges); the tilde symbol [~] illustrates that a particular participant is occasionally present and may participate at a given interaction (e.g. the teacher and researcher during lunchtime or during small-group instruction). The minus symbol [-] demonstrates that a given participant is not present, as the interaction unfolds (e.g. the teacher in interactions that take place in the classroom during the break).

The *task* parameter encompasses two types of tasks exclusively associated with language learning and language teaching, in which pupils engaged, with limited or no teacher intervention. The task parameter is only applicable to context 2 (task-based, small-group instruction) and context 4 (task-based classroom interactions during free time). For the remaining contexts, the symbol N/A is used.

[64] In this thesis, free time and break time are employed interchangeably.

The *type of group* parameter is defined as the types of pupil and teacher distribution that emerge during instruction. Two types of pupil distribution determined by the teacher were identified: (1) small-group and (2) whole-group [65]. The type of group parameter is applicable to instructional contexts (contexts 1-2). For the remaining contexts, the symbol N/A is employed.

Because the *task* and *type of group* parameters are relevant only in certain contexts (contexts 2, 4 and 1, 2 respectively), their applicability in the data is restricted to these contexts. This means that the two most salient parameters across contexts are the *setting* and *participants'* parameters.

4.2 The macro-interactional category of analysis: the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum

This study proposes to further discuss the six contexts along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum, by investigating in depth the various combinations of the aforementioned four micro-interactional parameters and the six contexts they yield. The institutionality–non-institutionality continuum is seen as a macro-interactional category of analysis. The reason for using this macro-interactional category of analysis is because the contexts investigated occur in the institutional setting of the school (cf. van Dijk 1997). This category of analysis assumes that combinations of the four micro-interactional parameters will influence the position of the six contexts along the continuum. This means that the positions these contexts will occupy along the continuum are not determined a priori.

[65] The type of group comes into play in the development of playful talk during whole-group vs. small-group instruction (6.3, 6.4).

In this study, the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum is defined as combinations of the various institutional (i.e. school- imposed) features that impinge upon participants across the six contexts. It is assumed that the force of these institutional features will be the strongest towards the institutionality end of the continuum and that they will gradually wane, as contexts move towards middle positions along the continuum. The force of these features will be the weakest towards the non-institutionality end of the continuum. As will be shown (chapters 5-6), combinations of these institutional features can function as constraints on the emergence of playful talk across contexts, because they determine both the structure of interactions at school and the roles, identities, rights and obligations of the interactants (cf. Edwards & Westgate 1994). On the other hand, these features can also function as resources for generating playful talk in the data.

As stated, institutional features influence the position of the six contexts along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum. Institutional features that can impinge upon participants include the way school life is organised. On the issue in question, Mehan (1985) argues that one of the most common characteristics of classroom life (and here I would add school life in general) is 'its temporal character': interactants meet at a designated time and place over a pre-determined period (: 120). Life at school is segmented into different activities with diverse purposes and goals. The data illustrate that with the possible exception of free time, teachers almost always orchestrate these activities (*field-notes*, 29/1/99; see also 4.2.2).

Institutional features also have a bearing on the physical environment at school (e.g. seating and spatial arrangements and participants' degree of mobility inside and outside the classroom) (Mehan 1985). As will be demonstrated (chapters 5-6), the constraints of the physical environment are central in the participation frameworks that emerge in playful talk as well as the contextualization cues peer group members employ to frame play talk.

Other institutional features that influence the position of the six contexts along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum are the interactants' roles and rights and how these, in turn, influence the organisation of interactions at school. For instance, institutional features can be detected in the way the turn-taking system is organised during formal instruction. In contrast to everyday conversational discourse that is characterized by 'local allocation means' (Sacks et al. 1974: 729), the rules for turn-taking in formal classroom interactions reveal 'differential participation rights' (McHoul 1978: 183). Teachers act as distributors of turns, which restricts pupils from self-selecting first-starters (: 192). Furthermore, teachers initiate, maintain, shift or change conversational topics (: 204) they do most of the classroom talk and sanction instances, when a single conversation splits into smaller parties, via the use of repair mechanisms (: 210).

Consequently, teachers' conduct has been seen as severely limiting and constraining the pupils' participation rights [66]. Similar institutional features regarding the organisation of

[66] The description of the turn-taking system in formal classroom interactions as presented by McHoul (1978) points to a predominantly pre-allocated system for turn-taking which is managed to a great extent by the teacher. Classroom research, however, has demonstrated that pupils frequently engage in departures

turn-taking and pupils' participation rights have been identified to operate in (bi-)multilingual classrooms (see studies in Heller & Martin- Jones 2001; in particular, Martin-Jones & Saxena 2001). As will be shown (chapter 6), however, teacher conduct in the 4th grade classroom departed from the strict rules for turn-taking identified during formal instruction, triggering the emergence of more relaxed rules that tolerated pupil self-selection as well as initiations of topic and frame shifts to playful talk.

Institutional features can be detected in the way talk is organised during the 'instructional phase' of lessons. The 'instructional phase' refers to that part of the lesson during which most of the academic information is imparted between teachers and pupils. In his study of 'traditionally' organised classrooms, Mehan (1985) illustrates that the 'instructional phase' is dominated by 'elicitation sequences' (see also Mehan 1979). These are jointly produced by teachers and pupils and comprise of three sequentially ordered parts: an 'initiation', a 'reply' and an 'evaluation' (: 121). Teachers produce the first and third moves, while the second move is confined to pupils. According to Mehan, it is this third move, namely the evaluation act, which distinguishes classroom discourse from everyday talk and characterises its sequential organisation (: 126).

The evaluation act is an institutional feature that is associated with the types of questions teachers generally ask in educational settings. Instead of 'answer-seeking questions', teachers frequently ask 'known-information questions'. In this sense, pupils are evaluated for the content of their reply that is already known to teachers or that teachers have decided beforehand what the correct answer(s) should be. Besides evaluating pupils, in

from this norm (cf. Cazden 1988; Maybin 1994; MacBeth 1990; see also Papaefthymiou- Lytra 1990, for EFL classroom instruction) (see 6.3.3- 6.3.5, also 7.2.1, for further discussion).

the evaluation act, teachers may adjust pupil answers to their own goals and purposes and may ignore those answers they deem irrelevant (cf. Cazden 1988; Mehan 1985). By virtue of these institutional features in teacher talk, teachers in educational settings appear to take up the role of the 'expert' (Edwards & Westgate 1994: 48): interactions between teachers and pupils resemble to a certain extent exchanges between an 'authoritative adult' and a 'child'.

This line of research, however, has come under scrutiny, as recent studies on pupil resistance to teacher control have heavily questioned the omnipotence of teachers as opposed to the relative lack of power of pupils (e.g. Candela 1999). In agreement with this argument, in this study, playful talk is discussed as a means of pupil resistance to teacher control and an attempt to redefine what counts as classroom talk (7.2.1).

Institutional features can be manifested in the way teachers hold pupils accountable for their talk and conduct that is perceived as threatening to the classroom order. For example, when pupils perform acts that are perceived as disruptive (including engaging in playful talk during instruction) teachers may reproach them, thereby bringing playful talk to a close (see 6.3.2, 6.3.4, 6.3.5). When pupils are late for class, they have to provide a suitable excuse, before quickly joining the class (Hammersley 1976; see also *field-notes*, 29/1/99). When pupils are required to leave the classroom, they must ask for permission and provide a sufficient warrant (Hammersley 1976; Maybin 1994; see also *field-notes*, 29/1/99). As a result, these institutional features reflect, but, also, reproduce asymmetries in status and power between pupils and teachers, which are associated with their institutional roles.

On the basis of this discussion of the literature, teacher roles, identities, rights and obligations emerge as the most crucial features in influencing the position of the six contexts along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum. The extent to which these roles, rights etc. exert an influence on the degree of institutionality of the contexts depends upon the four micro-interactional parameters identified (i.e. the setting, participant, task and type of group parameters). This means that teacher roles, rights etc. are not uniform across contexts. Instead, the teacher figure functions as a variable with varying degrees of influence both across contexts and within contexts (4.3.3).

The ensuing sections (4.2.1- 4.2.5) investigate how the aforementioned institutional features impinge upon the playful talk participants produce across the six contexts. By exploring each of the four micro-interactional parameters across the six contexts, one can place these contexts along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum. As illustrated, the exploration of the six contexts through the lens of this super-ordinate category of analysis allows for a more fine-grained investigation of the conditions leading to the emergence of playful talk in discourse and variation in the frequency of playful talk.

4.2.1 The setting parameter

As mentioned (4.1), the setting parameter consists of two features: place and time. Table 4.2 indicates the number of hours recorded in terms of the setting parameter across the six contexts. It also shows the percentage of hours recorded in each context in relation to the total number of 4th grade tape-recorded interactions (a total of 25 hours and 40 minutes).

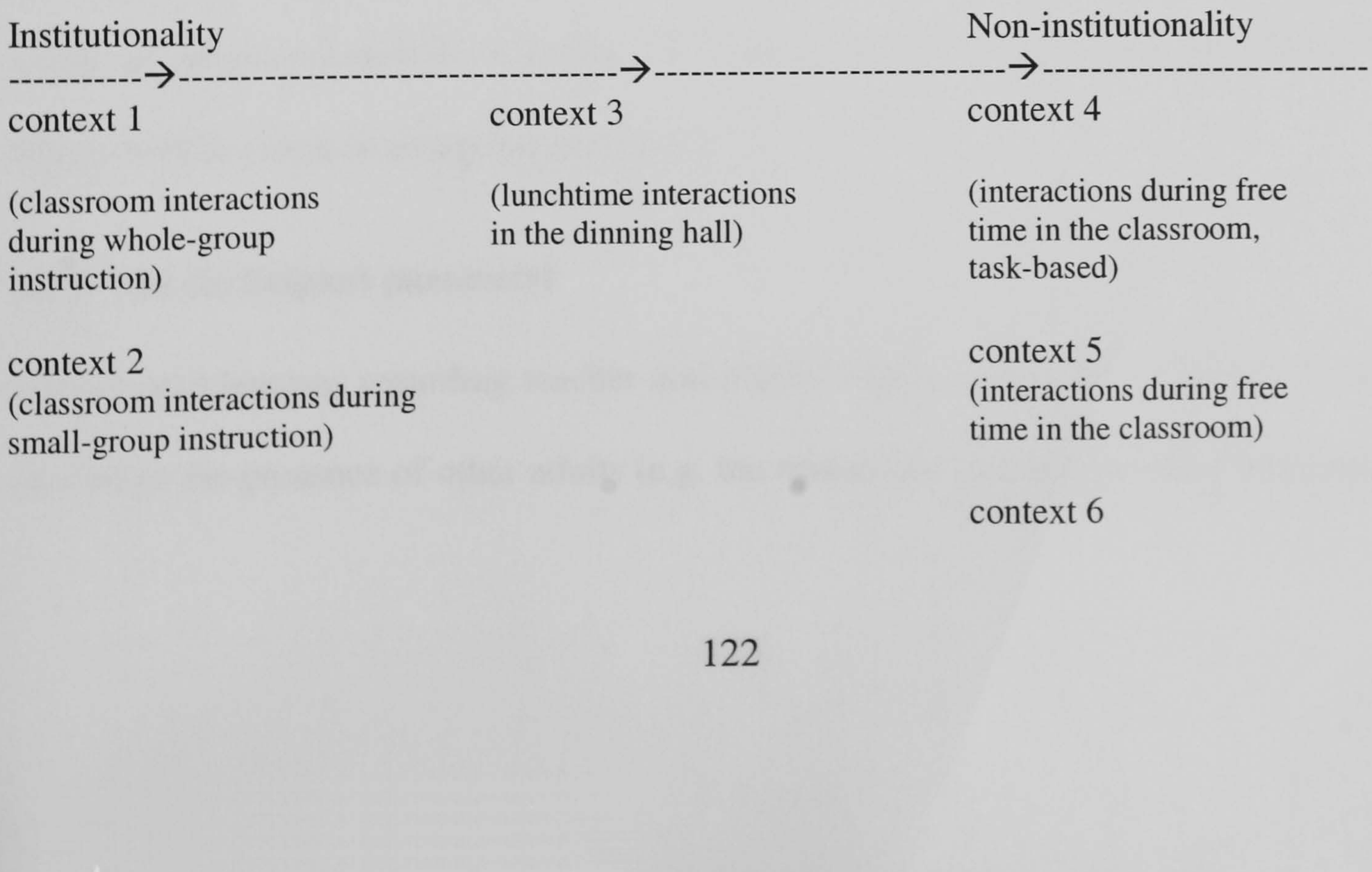
Table 4.2. The setting parameter: hours/percentages across contexts

1. classroom interactions during whole-group instruction	2.classroom interactions during small group task-based instruction	3. lunchtime interactions in the dining hall	4.interactions during free time in the classroom, task-based	5.interactions during free time in the classroom	6.school yard interactions during free time
18hs 10min	2hs 5min	1h	2hs 45min	1h 10min	30min
70.8%	8.1%	3.9%	10.7%	4.5%	1.9%

Table 4.2 illustrates an imbalance among the different sites in favour of classroom exchanges during instruction (78.9% of the total hours recorded). This imbalance was primarily due to the efficiency and effectiveness of making tape-recordings in the classroom during instruction as opposed to other settings. One could argue that this imbalance may have an effect on the generalisability of the findings regarding the occurrences of playful talk in the data, because all contexts are not represented equally. As the discussion of the emergence of playful talk demonstrates (4.3.1), however, this is not the case.

On the basis of Table 4.2 above, Figure 4.1 illustrates the different contexts along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum according to the setting parameter.

Figure 4.1. The institutionality–non-institutionality continuum according to the setting parameter



(schoolyard interactions during free time)

As Figure 4.1 demonstrates, instructional interactions (contexts 1, 2) are towards the institutionality end of the continuum. As discussed (4.2), this is because they share a combination of institutional features (e.g. teacher control over turn-taking rights, pupil accountability) that do not emerge in exchanges during free time (i.e. contexts 4, 5, 6). Consequently, as the force of these institutional features diminishes in interactions during free time, they are positioned towards the non-institutionality end of the continuum.

Interactions recorded in the dining hall during lunchtime (context 3), however, are placed in a middle position along the continuum. This is due to constraints on pupil conduct imposed by the setting parameter: interactions occurred in the dining hall (the school designated place for lunch) over a limited period (from 13.30 until 14.00pm) (*field-notes*, 23/3/99). Similar constraints do not come into play in interactions during free time (contexts 4, 5, 6), for instance.

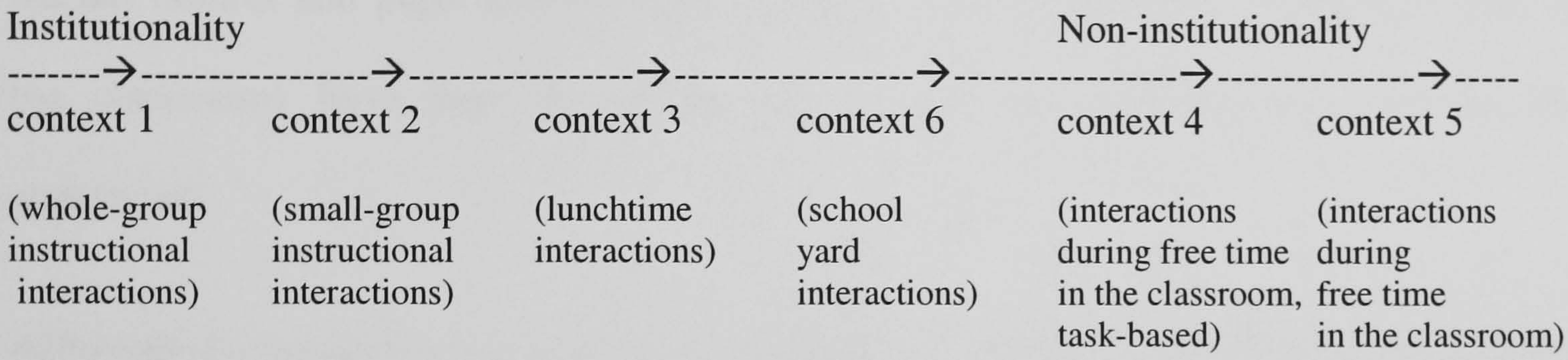
On the basis of the setting parameter, Figure 4.1 reveals that contexts 1, 2 and contexts 4, 5, 6 are placed at either end of the continuum, where as context 3 is placed in the middle. In the following sections (4.2.2-4.2.4), the parameters of participant, task and type of group are discussed in order to probe into illuminating differences between contexts and fine tune their position along the continuum

4.2.2 The participant parameter

Institutional features regarding teacher and pupils' rights, roles and obligations at school as well as the presence of other adults (e.g. the researcher, janitor) at school influence the

position of the six contexts along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum (4.2). Figure 4.2 demonstrates the different contexts along the continuum according to the participant parameter.

Figure 4.2. The institutionality–non-institutionality continuum according to the participant parameter



As discussed (4.2), teachers dominated instructional interactions (*field-notes*, 29/1/99). On the basis of the participant parameter, contexts 1-2 are positioned towards the insitutionality end of the continuum. A comparison between these two contexts, however, yields that teachers played a more decisive role in whole-group than in small-group instruction. In particular, in whole-group instructional interactions, teachers actively orchestrated the exchanges, while in small-group instructional interactions their role was reduced to loosely monitoring them (ibid).

Since the force of institutional features associated with the participant parameter (in particular the role of the teacher figure) started to wane in exchanges occurring in the dining hall (context 3) and in the schoolyard (context 6) (*field-notes*, 1/2/99), these contexts have been positioned in the middle of the continuum. Although teachers were present in context 6 (playground interactions), their role was confined to supervising the pupils and intervening only to settle disputes over shared school resources or referee disruptive conduct. In context 3 (lunchtime interactions), on the other hand, teachers had

the additional role of organising and serving lunch, which increased teacher control over pupil conduct in these interactions (ibid). As a result, context 3 is placed closer to the institutionality end of the continuum than context 6.

In addition, due to the absence of teachers (and other institutional features associated with teacher control and pupil accountability), contexts 4-5 (interactions during free time in the classroom) have been positioned towards the non-institutionality end of the continuum.

Although the researcher was present in nearly all six contexts, her effect on the position of these contexts along the continuum is minimal (*field-notes*, 1/2/99). This could be attributed to the fact that teacher rights, roles and obligations weighted heavily on the position of these contexts, thereby overshadowing any potential variation caused by the presence of the researcher. It is worth noting, however, that the researcher participated more actively in contexts in middle positions along the continuum (contexts 2- 5). Her participation was restricted in context 1 (whole-group instruction), which teachers actively orchestrated and in context 6 (school yard interactions), where interactions were more diffused, in that participants exhibited a high degree of mobility.

Due to their presence in specific settings only (in the school yard and the dining hall), other adults at school (i.e. the janitor and cleaning lady) did not have an effect on the position of the six contexts along the continuum.

4.2.3 The task parameter

As stated (4.1), the task parameter includes two types of tasks that were exclusively associated with language learning and language teaching, in which pupils engaged with limited or no teacher intervention. These tasks, which were either assigned by the teacher or chosen by the pupils to do, included: (1) work-oriented tasks (e.g. doing one's homework during the break) and (2) subject-matter tasks (e.g. engaging in collaborative writing during instruction) (cf. Cook 2000) [67]. Table 4.3 presents an overview of the two types of tasks that exclusively emerged in context 2 (task-based small-group instruction) and context 4 (task-based interactions during free time in the classroom).

Table 4.3. Overview of types of tasks in the two contexts

Contexts	Work-oriented tasks	Subject-matter tasks	Assigned by the teacher	Chosen by the pupils
Context 2		X	X	
Context 4	X		X	X

Figure 4.3 illustrates how contexts 2 and 4 are placed along the continuum according to the task parameter.

Figure 4.3. The institutionality–non-institutionality continuum according to the task parameter

Institutionality ----------→ Non-institutionality ----------→

context 2 (small-group instructional interactions)

context 4 (task-based interactions during free time in the classroom)

[67] This definition of task has been extensively employed by task-based foreign language learning as well as by Second Language Acquisition research (see Skehan 1998, Skehan & Foster 1997).

Based on findings from the participant parameter (4.2.2), the teacher loosely monitored small-group instructional interactions (context 2), while she was absent in interactions during free time in the classroom (context 4). In addition, in context 4, pupils had chosen to engage in some of these tasks as opposed to context 2, where the teacher had assigned the tasks. These findings position context 2 towards the institutionality end of the continuum and context 4 towards its non-institutionality end.

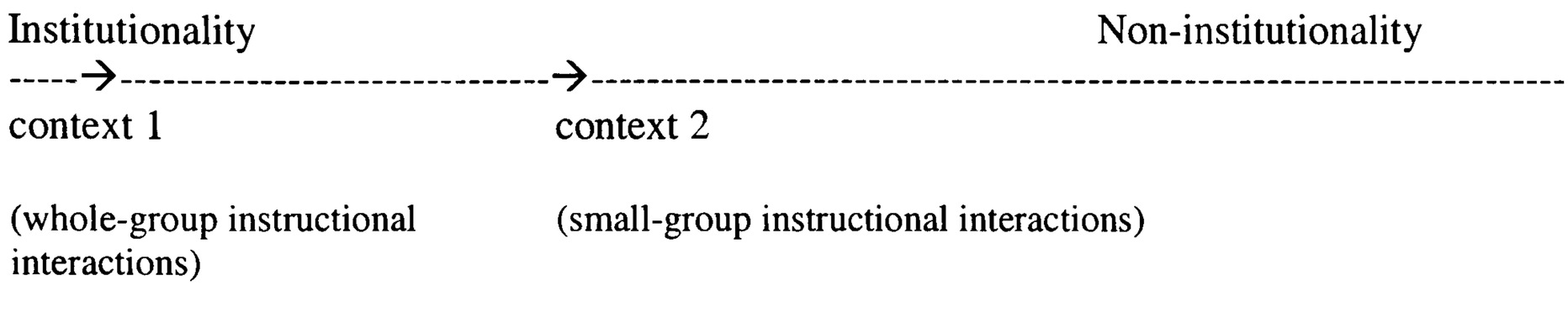
4.2.4 The type of group parameter

The type of group parameter is defined as the types of pupil and teacher distribution that emerged during instruction (in particular in contexts 1-2). These were: (1) small-group and (2) whole-group [68]. Although groups were formed in other contexts as well, such as in context 6 (school yard interactions) and in context 3 (lunchtime interactions), these groups tended to be more diffused that those formed during instruction. In addition, teacher control over the maintenance of these groups was strong during instruction, but receded significantly in all other contexts.

On the issue in question, Mehan (1985) identifies occasions of 'small-group' instruction (context 2), when pupils engage in different activities in clusters, either under or outside the direct supervision of the teacher (: 120). He regards 'whole-group instruction' (context 1), on the other hand, as occasions when 'all classroom participants are assembled in a single space with a single focus of attention' (ibid). Figure 4.4 demonstrates contexts 1 and 2 along the continuum according to type of group parameter.

[68] Small-group instruction that was embedded in whole-group instructional interactions has been treated as instances of small-group instruction.

Figure 4.4. The institutionality–non-institutionality continuum according to type of group parameter

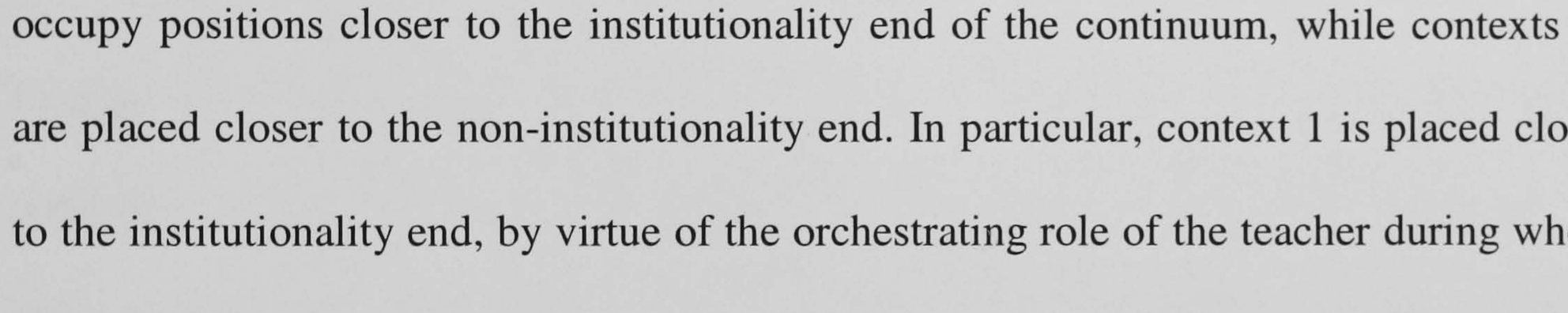


Although teachers assigned both types of groups, contexts 1 and 2 differ to the extent of teacher control. As mentioned (4.2.2), in context 1, teachers orchestrated whole-group instruction, while in context 2 their role was to loosely monitor small-group instruction. As a result, in context 2, pupils were responsible for negotiating roles, rights and obligations among themselves (see 6.4). This finding places context 1 closer to the institutionality end of the continuum than context 2.

4.2.5 The institutionality–non-institutionality continuum across contexts

On the basis of the discussion in 4.2.1- 4.2.4, combinations of the four micro-interactional parameters influenced the position of the six contexts along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum. As shown, the participant parameter, in particular the teacher figure, emerges as the most salient variable in determining the position of the contexts identified in the data. Figure 4.5 provides an overview of the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum across contexts.

Figure 4.5. Institutionality–non-institutionality continuum across contexts: an overview



As Figure 4.5 demonstrates, institutional (i.e. school-imposed) features permeate all contexts, because they occur in the institutional setting of the school (4.2). Contexts 1-2 occupy positions closer to the institutionality end of the continuum, while contexts 4-6 are placed closer to the non-institutionality end. In particular, context 1 is placed closest to the institutionality end, by virtue of the orchestrating role of the teacher during whole-group instructions. Although context 2 also occurs during instruction, the role of the teacher has been reduced to loosely monitoring pupil interactions. Moreover, in context 2, pupils work in small-groups to collaboratively complete the assigned tasks. This gives them control over turn-taking and the allocation of roles and responsibilities. As a result, the inter-relation of the participant and task parameters decreases the degree of institutionality of context 2.

Exchanges in context 4, 5 and 6 are positioned towards the non-institutionality rear of the continuum, as they occur during free time. Although interactions in context 4 take place without any teacher supervision, because of pupil engagement in different types of learning tasks context 4 shares institutional features with contexts 1-2. One such feature is that pupils were constrained to successfully complete tasks assigned by the teacher within a particular time frame (i.e. before the end of the break) (field-notes, 15/3/99). As

a result, context 4 is placed closest to a middle position along the continuum than contexts 5-6.

Both contexts 5 and 6 are positioned towards the non-institutionality end of the continuum. As mentioned (4.2.2), the distinguishing feature of these contexts is teacher control. While both contexts occur during free time, in context 6, teachers were present in the schoolyard and supervised pupils' conduct as opposed to context 5, where teachers were absent. These differences in the participant parameter place context 5 closer to the non-institutionality rear of the continuum.

Context 3 is placed in a middle position. As discussed (4.2.2), exchanges during lunchtime (context 3) were under some teacher control: teachers were responsible for both serving lunch and supervising the pupils. More importantly, during lunchtime, pupils were socialised into eating practices and habits dictated by the school (e.g. pupils stood in an orderly line to be served, after finishing lunch they had to take their plates and cutlery to a designated area to be washed etc.). Besides, time allocated for lunch was limited (*field-notes*, 27/1/99). These institutional features associated with the setting and the participant parameters place context 3 in the middle of the continuum.

Based on the discussion above, contexts 1 and 2 (classroom interactions) and context 3 (lunchtime interactions) are subsumed under the super-ordinate category of institutionally oriented contexts, while contexts 4, 5 and 6 (interactions during free) of non-institutionally oriented contexts. These two super-ordinate categories are used extensively in the analysis of playful talk and play frames across contexts (chapters 5 and 6).

4.3 Determining playful talk in the data

As discussed (1.7), the umbrella term playful talk is defined as a range of verbal activities identified in the data that set up play frames. These activities include: (1) teasing; (2) name-calling; (3) joking; (4) language play and (5) a series of performance-oriented phenomena, notably singing, crying out, reciting and role enactments. For the purpose of this study, playful talk is measured in occurrences per context. Structurally, occurrences of playful talk can be minimal (i.e. one utterance long as an initiation without an uptake) or more complex, where an initiation is followed by an uptake(s) often engaging more than two participants. Overall, five different types of occurrences of playful talk have been identified in the data (types A-E).

Type A occurrence of playful talk is comprised of an initiation, which does not elicit an uptake (see Table 4.3 below).

Table 4.3. Type A occurrence of playful talk: initiation- no uptake

A:	----------→	Initiation
		No uptake

For instance, in excerpt 1, Tuncay attempts to initiate a teasing activity in discourse that is directed to Babis, who is sitting next to him. Tuncay builds his tease, by referring to Babis' nickname 'Μπεμπιλίνο' ('Bebilino') (line 3). His attempt to shift the frame to play fails, as there is no uptake in playful talk in the subsequent turns.

Excerpt 1 (context 2, 30/3/99; with the form teacher)

1Δασκάλα	*f* Νώντα: . πήγαινε εκεί με τον Κώστα
1Teacher	**Nonta go and sit with Costas over there**
2Γιάννης	((προς Τουτζάι)) κάτσε ναρχίσω εγώ ((να γράφω))
2Giannis	**((to Tuncay)) I'll start ((writing)) first**
3Τουτζάι	Μπεμπιλίνο::[:
3Tuncay	**Bebilino::[:**
	((η Δ. πλησιάζει την ομάδα))
	((the T. approaches the small group))
4Δασκάλα	[((προς τα μέλη της ομάδας)) *p* παιδιά ποιός θα γράψει; ….
4Teacher	**[((to the members of the small group)) children who will do**
5	αποφασίσατε;
5	**the writing? have you decided?**

Type B occurrence of playful talk consists of an initiation and a response, as Table 4.4 illustrates.

Table 4.4. Type B occurrence of playful talk: initiation- response

A:	----------→ Initiation
B:	----------→ Response

For instance, in excerpt 2, Vasia's singing (line 3) is responded to by Tuncay through a tease (line 4). He introduces the teasing activity, by employing a mock order ('άντε φύγε', 'go away') and referring to one of Vasia's nicknames ('Βασιλόπιττα 999', 'Vasilopita 999'). As Vasia refrains from responding to the teasing in the next turn, this occurrence of playful talk is brought to an end.

Excerpt 2 (context 4, 18/3/99; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 4, Appendix IV)

3Βάσια	*f* ((τραγουδά στο μικρόφωνο)) η καρδιά:: μου χτυπά::=
3Vasia	**((sings in the mic)) my heart is throbbing=**
4Τουτζάι	= *acc* άντε φύγε . Βασιλόπιττα 999 [2 sec]
4Tuncay	**=go away Vasipolita 999**
5Γιάννης	για να δούμε ρε Νώντα ((τί έχεις κάνει))

5Giannis **let's have a look (re) [69] Nonta**

As stated earlier in this section, occurrences of playful talk can be more complex, engaging more than two participants. In particular, type C occurrence of playful talk takes the form of an initiation followed by a co-initiation(s) and a response (see Table 4.5 below). The initiation is introduced by participant A, followed by any number of co-initiations (one, two etc.), which are introduced by participants B, D etc. The response is provided by participant D to whom the playful talk produced in the previous turns may or may not be directed.

Table 4.5. Type C occurrence of playful talk: initiation/co-initiation(s) – response

A:	----------→ Initiation
B/C:	----------→ Co-initiation(s)
D:	----------→ Response

For instance, in excerpt 3, Maria initiates a teasing activity in discourse with Nontas as its target, by issuing a mock challenge to him ('τί θες ρε Νώντα εσύ τώρα;', 'what do you want know (re) Nontas?, line 2). In the following turn, Vasia latches onto Maria's talk and sustains the teasing activity: she repeats Maria's mock challenge to Nontas, while mitigating her co-initiation with laughter (line 3). This occurrence of playful talk is further sustained by Tuncay's response (in line 4, 'σκάσε ρε Βάσια', 'shut up (re) Vasia'), in which he addresses the teasing on behalf of Nontas (the party being teased). In the next turn, however, the occurrence of playful talk is brought to a close, since instead

[69] 'Re' is an untranslatable particle. For this reason, it is henceforth been placed in single brackets. When used among friends, 're' and its variant 'vre' denote familiarity and informality (Tannen & Kakava 1992).

of responding to the teasing, Nontas initiates a topic and frame shift back to his original complaint regarding Babis' conduct (lines 5-6).

Excerpt 3 (context 4, 18/3/99; for a complete Transcript, see Transcript 7, Appendix IV)

1Νώντας	*f acc* στη κυρία στη κυρία που κάνετε τόση φασαρία
1Nontas	**I'll tell the teacher you are making so much noise**
2Μαρία	*ff acc* τί θες ρε Νώντα εσύ τώρα:::;=
2Maria	**what do you want now (re) Nontas?=**
3Βάσια	=τί θες ρε Νώντα:::; .. (hh)θέ(hh)λεις τί(hh)ποτα; hhh=
3Vasia	**=what do you want now (re) Nontas? You (hh) want somethinghhh?=**
4Τουτζάι	=*acc* σκάσε ρε Βά[σια
4Tuncay	**=shut up (re) Va[sia**
5Νώντας	[*f* δεν έχει κάνει τις εργασίες του . που τούχει βάλει η
5Nontas	**[he ((Babis)) hasn't done the homework the teacher**
6	κυρία .. εντά:ξει;=
6	**told him to do ok?=**

Type D occurrence of playful talk is a variation of type C. It takes the form of an initiation and a response followed by a co-response(s) (see Table 4.6 below). The initiation is introduced by participant A, whereas the response by participant B. The co-response(s) can be introduced by any number of participants A, C and so on and can act as response(s) to the initiation of the playful talk (e.g. excerpt 4 below, lines 4-7).

Table 4.6. Type C occurrence of playful talk: initiation – response/co-response(s)

A:	----------→ Initiation
B:	----------→ Response
A/C:	----------→ Co- response(s)

Type E occurrence of playful talk consists of a combination of types C and D, notably a combination of initiations and responses (see Table 4.7 below).

Table 4.7. Type E occurrence of playful talk: initiation/co-initiation(s) – response/co-response(s)

A:	----------→ Initiation
B/C:	----------→ Co-initiation(s)
D:	----------→ Response
A/B/C:	----------→ Co- response(s)

As the data under study demonstrate, however, occurrences of playful talk do not always occur in isolation, as types A-E discussed so far. Instead, any type of occurrence of playful talk may be immediately followed by the same type or by a different type of occurrence. The second occurrence may be introduced in discourse by one of the participants involved in the first occurrence (e.g. participant A) or by a third party, who joins in the playful talk (e.g. participant C). Table 4.8 below illustrates such an example. In a similar vein, the second occurrence of playful talk may be responded to by one of the participants involved in the first occurrence (e.g. participant B) or by a third party, who has not participated in playful talk thus far (e.g. participant D). As the data illustrate, the second occurrence may then lead to a third occurrence and so on.

Table 4.8. An example of multiple occurrences of playful talk from the data

A:	----------→ Initiation
B:	----------→ Response
A/C:	----------→ Co-response/ New initiation
B/D:	----------→ Response

For example, in excerpt 4 below, Giannis introduces a crying out activity in talk, through the use of the media-inspired one-liner 'καλό ε;' ('cool huh?') (line 5). In the next turns (lines 6-7), Tuncay responds to Giannis' initiation and both sustain the crying-out

activity, by repeating the one-liner in question. In mid-turn (line 7), however, Giannis switches to a name-calling activity (lines 7-8) with Tuncay as its target this time. Giannis introduces the name-calling activity, by calling Tuncay a 'nigger' ('ο Τουτζάι είναι αράπης', 'Tuncay is a nigger').

The switch from a diffused activity (crying out) to a new activity, which is focused on a specific participant (Tuncay), marks the introduction of a new occurrence of playful talk in discourse. In the next turn, Tuncay partly maintains the second occurrence of playful talk, by responding to the name-calling, in which he exploits references to Giannis' surname/nickname 'Κόλλια' ('Kollia') (lines 9-10). In mid-turn, however, Tuncay calls the teacher to intervene on his behalf in order to punish Giannis for calling him names (lines 10- 11), thereby bringing the second occurrence of playful talk to an end.

Excerpt 4 (context 2, 30/3/99, with the form teacher)

	((ο Τουτζάι και οΜπάμπης δουλεύουν μαζί))
	((Tuncay and Babis are collaborating on a class project))
1Τουτζάι	*f* θα κοπεί .. ((το χαρτόνι που γράφουν))
1Tuncay	**it will be torn ((the piece of paper they are writing on))**
2Μπάμπης	ναι- καλά …
2Babis	**yeah- right**
3Τουτζάι	*dec* θα δεις … δε θα σε παίξω μπάλα ..
3Tuncay	**you'll see I won't play with you football**
4Μπάμπης	*acc* δε με νοιάζει ..
4Babis	**I don't care**
5Γιάννης	*p* κα-κα-καλό ε-;=
5Giannis	**c- c- cool huh?=**
6Τουτζάι	=*p* καλό::: ε-;
6Tuncay	**=cool huh?**
7Γιάννης	*p* καλό: ε::; ... μόνο μόνο .. ((στο μικρόφωνο)) ο Τουντζάι είναι:::
7Giannis	**cool huh? only only ((talking directly into the mic)) Tuncay is**
8	*pp* αράπης
8	**a nigger**
9Τουτζάι	α:: *acc* Γιά-ννη Κόλλιαντα . Κόλλια Κόλλια Κόλλια
9Tuncay	**a:: Gianni Kollianda Kollia Kollia Kollia Kollia**
10	Κόλλια::: χαχαχαχα . *acc f* κυρία πες το .. χαχακυ(χα)ρί(χα)α πες το
10	**Kollia hahahaha Ms say it hahaM(ha)s tell him to**
11	αυτουνού α:-

11 **a**
12Δασκάλα ((προς Τουτζάι)) *f* δε μου λες .. κάτσε να σκεφτείς σε παρακαλώ ..
12Teacher **((to Tuncay)) do me a favour concentrate on your work please**

By presenting the five different types of occurrences of playful talk that have been identified in the data (types A-E), this section has determined what counts as an occurrence of playful talk structurally in the 4th grade data and how one type of occurrence may lead to another.

4.3.1 Frequency of playful talk across contexts: an overview

Overall, the data analysis demonstrates that playful talk does not occur equally across the six contexts. On the basis of what constitutes an occurrence of playful talk (4.3), Table 4.9 presents the number of occurrences of playful talk per context (a total of 245 occurrences) and the frequency of playful talk per half hour.

Table 4.9. Occurrences and frequency of playful talk per contexts

Contexts	Context 1	Context 2	Context 3	Context 4	Context 5	Context 6
Occurrences of playful talk per context	134	21	7	46	29	6
Frequency of playful talk per half hour	3.69	5.04	3.5	8.36	12.42	6

Table 4.9 suggests that the bias identified towards tape recordings of instructional interactions (contexts 1-2, 78.9% of total tape-recorded data, see Table 4.2, 4.2.1) does not compromise the generalisability of the findings regarding the frequency of occurrences of playful talk across contexts. Even though non-instructional interactions

(contexts 3-6) account for about one quarter of the total hours of tape-recorded interactions (21.1% see Table 4.2, 4.2.1), they generate about three times more occurrences of playful talk per half hour (18.1 per half hour) [70]. Instructional interactions, on the other hand, produce only 8.73 occurrences of playful talk per half hour.

As a result, the investigation of occurrences of playful talk per half hour provides us with a more accurate picture of the frequency of playful talk triggered per context, as it illustrates differences in the production of playful talk across contexts. Based on these findings, Figure 4.6 presents a continuum of the frequency of playful talk across contexts per half hour.

Figure 4.6. Frequency of playful talk per half hour across contexts

Most frequently					Least frequently
→	→	→	→	→	→
12.42 per half hour	**8.36** per half hour	**6** per half hour	**5.04** per half hour	**3.69** per half hour	**3.5** per half hour
context 5 (interactions during free time in the classroom)	context 4 (interactions during free time in the classroom, task-based)	context 6 (school yard interactions)	context 2 (small-group instructional interactions	context 1 (whole-group instructional interactions)	context 3 (lunchtime interactions)

Figure 4.6 shows that context 5 triggered most occurrences of playful talk per half hour (12.42), followed by context 4 (8.36) and context 6 (6). Context 2 (5.4), context 1 (3.69),

[70] Although statistically speaking, this difference regarding the frequency of occurrences of playful talk per half hour between instructional and non-instructional contexts may not be significant, it collaborates participant observations regarding an increase in the frequency of playful talk observed in non-instructional contexts in the 4th grade data (with the exception of interactions during lunchtime which will be discussed in 4.3.2) (*field-notes*, 17/2/99).

and context 3 (3.5) generated the least playful talk. Section 4.3.2 probes further into this variation in the occurrences of playful talk across the six contexts.

4.3.2 Interpreting variation in playful talk across contexts

The data analysis draws on the super-ordinate category of the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum (see Figure 4.5, in 4.2.5) to interpret the variation in the frequency of playful talk identified in Table 4.6 (4.3.1). Figure 4.7 below shows the frequency of playful talk per half hour across contexts along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum.

Figure 4.7. Frequency of playful talk per half hour across contexts along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum

Institutionality → Non-institutionality

3.69 per half hour	5.04 per half hour	3.5 per half hour	8.36 per half hour	6 per half hour	12.42 per half hour
context 1 (whole-group instructional interactions)	context 2 (small-group instructional) interactions)	context 3 (lunchtime interactions)	context 4 (interactions during free time in the classroom, task-based)	context 6 (interactions during free time in the classroom	context 5 (school yard interactions)

Figure 4.7 reveals the following patterns in the 4th grade data: contexts 1 and 2 (during instruction) are towards the institutionality end of the continuum and exhibit low frequency of playful talk. On the other hand, contexts 4, 5 and 6 (during free time) are positioned towards the non-institutionality end of the continuum and demonstrate a high frequency of playful talk. Context 3, however, occupies a middle position in the continuum, but triggers the lowest frequency of playful talk in the data. Constrains on the

emergence of playful talk in this context are seen as a product of the setting and participant parameters that determine the practices associated with lunchtime (i.e. consuming food among peers under the supervision of teachers over a limited period of time, see 4.2.5).

These patterns indicate that the position of the six contexts along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum is significant in interpreting the frequency of playful talk in the data. Contexts with high degrees of institutionality (i.e. contexts 1, 2) generate less playful talk than contexts with low degrees of institutionality (i.e. contexts 4, 5, 6). Variation in playful talk across contexts (e.g. context 1 vs. context 2) is then explained as the outcome of the different combinations of the four micro-interactional parameters identified (setting, participants, type of task and type of group).

4.3.3 Identifying variation in playful talk within contexts: the teacher figure

Variation in playful talk within contexts focuses on the role of the teacher figure in context 1 only (whole-group instruction). As argued (4.2), teacher roles, identities, rights and obligations were not uniform across and within contexts. Rather, the teacher figure functioned as a variable with varying degrees of influence on the institutionality of these contexts.

Table 4.10 identifies the three teachers who taught the 4th graders and illustrates the number of hours recorded per teacher (context 1). In addition, it demonstrates the number of occurrences of playful talk per teacher and the frequency of playful talk per hour this time.

Table 4.10. Playful talk across teachers in context 1

Teachers	Form teacher	English foreign language teacher	Teacher for the class history project
Hours recorded	16hs	2hs 35min	1h 40min
Occurrences of playful talk	50	49	35
Frequency of playful talk	3.1 per hour	19 per hour	21 per hour

Table 4.10 demonstrates that most occurrences of playful talk per hour were triggered in interactions with the teacher for the class history project (21). These were closely followed by occurrences of playful talk in exchanges with the English foreign language teacher (19). Interactions with the form teacher, however, generated the least occurrences of playful talk (3.1). These findings reveal that, although all interactions in context 1 share the same degree of institutionality, the frequency of playful talk across teachers exhibits significant variation.

This variation in playful talk across the three teachers in context 1 is investigated further on the basis of the lesson(s) each teacher taught and its characteristics. The lesson(s) each teacher taught has to do with the number of lessons and their importance vis-à-vis the 4th grade curriculum. The characteristics of the lesson(s) involve the number of contact hours per week and the frequency of contact allocated for each lesson, the homework and grades that were assigned, the degree of contact with parents and the role of foreign language centers (in the case of English). The lesson(s) taught and its characteristics function as variables that can undermine the power and authority of the institutional figure of the teacher, by altering the force of institutional features, such as degree of teacher control over topic and turn-taking (cf. 4.2).

Based on these two variables, the high frequency of playful talk in interactions with the teacher for the class history project and the English foreign language teacher could be accounted for by the perceived marginal status of these lessons in the 4th grade curriculum vis-à-vis those taught by the form teacher [71]. As far as the history project is concerned, it did not constitute part of the main curriculum: teacher and pupils met once a week, at irregular times, as the project had not been allocated a fixed time slot in the weekly programme. In addition, it was frequently substituted by lessons from the curriculum and pupils did not have any homework nor did they receive any mark for the project. As a result, pupils appeared to treat the class history project as a time-out period rather than instruction proper.

Concerning the marginal status of English in the school curriculum, the English language teacher met with pupils twice a week for one period (50 minutes). This was a mixed ability class, as the majority of 4th graders attended English language classes in foreign language centers (outside school). The emphasis placed on instruction in foreign language centres has led to the demise of English language instruction at school, as parents tend to perceive the former far better than the latter. It has been shown that parents' attitudes towards English taught at school has an effect on pupils' attitudes towards the lesson as well (Manolopoulou 2001). Although parents and pupils' attitudes towards English language instruction at school and in foreign language centres were not independently measured, pupils treated this lesson as a time-out period (*field-notes*, 30/3/99). The high frequency of playful talk during English language instruction was

[71] This raises some important pedagogical implications that are addressed in the concluding discussion.

further enhanced by the English language teacher's frequent use of playful talk during instruction (ibid; see also 6.3.3, 6.3.5).

In contrast with the two other teachers, interactions with the form teacher exhibited a low frequency of playful talk. On the basis of the variables identified earlier in this section, the form teacher had enhanced roles, rights and responsibilities vis-à-vis the other two teachers: she taught almost all lessons across the curriculum, gave nearly all marks, assigned almost all the homework and met with parents on a regular basis to discuss their children's academic performance at school.

Overall, the data analysis indicated that the institutional figure of the teacher can not be treated as a unified concept, as institutional features (e.g. roles, rights, responsibilities etc.) can differ across teachers. Instead, there is an inverse relation between institutional features and playful talk: the more enhanced roles, rights and obligations a teacher has (as in the case of the form teacher) the less playful talk is produced during her lessons and vice versa.

4.4 Verbal activities in playful talk: a typology

As mentioned (4.3), playful talk is seen as a super-ordinate category that encompasses the following verbal activities, as identified in the data: (1) teasing; (2) name-calling; (3) joking; (4) language play and (5) performance-oriented activities, namely singing, crying out, reciting and role enactments. In the following sections (4.4.1-4.4.6), these verbal activities are discussed. For each activity, a review of the relevant literature and a presentation of its frequency in contexts 1-6 are provided. The frequency of each verbal activity is measured in number of activities per sequence. Moreover, the different

contextualization cues used to initiate playful talk and thus construct play frames in discourse are presented and discussed (4.5-4.5.8).

4.4.1 Teasing

As indicated (1.6), teasing is one of the best-researched activities across ages and participant configurations (i.e. child-mother interactions, exchanges among peers and adults). A review of the literature on teasing illustrates that this activity has been invariably subsumed under the super-ordinate categories of 'humour' (Fine 1984; Hay 2000), 'conversational joking' (Boxer & Cortés-Conde 1997; Norrick 1993), 'play' (Straehle 1993) or 'insulting' (Tannock 1999). All definitions of teasing, however, converge on its multi-functionality in discourse and its dependency on shared assumptions and associations for interpretation. In this thesis, teasing is seen as a verbal activity that is taken to mean:

> any remark aimed at another person, which can include mock challenges, commands, and threats as well as imitating and exaggerating someone's behaviour in a playful way (Eder 1993: 17).

This definition of teasing implies that interactants need to make use of the necessary contextualization cues to successfully signal to one another that their teases should be interpreted as play and not otherwise (Lytra [forthcoming]; Straehle 1993). Interpreting a tease playfully is important, especially since the content of the tease itself may often be negative, if taken literally by the party being teased (Eder 1993). Indeed, the context-dependency of this activity is evident in the different responses to teasing available to peer group members (5.5-5.5.4).

Overall, the data reveal that peer group members initiate and develop teasing activities by making use of the following cues: mock challenges, commands and threats, one-liners, terms of verbal abuse, nicknames, code-switches, laughter, hair pulling, nape-slapping (see also Table 4.20, in 4.5). These cues do not occur in isolation. Instead, the co-occurrence of cues aid peer group members to distinguish a teasing activity from a name-calling activity, for instance, in which peer group members also employ nicknames and terms of verbal abuse as cues (4.4.2) [72].

For instance, in excerpt 5, Tuncay addresses Vasia's singing efforts by resorting to a teasing activity (line 4). He builds his tease by making use of a mock command 'άντε φύγε' ('go away'), followed by Vasia's nickname 'Βασιλόπιττα 999' ('Vasilopita 999').

Excerpt 5 (context 4, 18/3/99; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 4, Appendix IV)

3Βάσια *f* ((τραγουδά στο μικρόφωνο)) η καρδιά:: μου χτυπά::=	
3Vasia	**((sings in the mic)) my heart is throbbing=**
4Τουτζάι	= *acc* άντε φύγε . Βασιλόπιττα 999 [2 sec]
4Tuncay	**=go away Vasipolita 999**
5Γιάννης	για να δούμε ρε Νώντα ((τί έχεις κάνει))
5Giannis	**let's have a look (re) Nonta**

Table 4.11 demonstrates the number (N) of teasing activities in contexts 1-6 (a total of 86) and their percentage in playful talk per context.

[72] For a detailed analysis of how cues cluster to initiate and develop verbal activities and construct play frames, see chapters 5-6.

Table 4.11. Teasing in contexts 1-6

Contexts	Context 1	Context 2	Context 3	Context 4	Context 5	Context 6
N of teasing activities	39	6	4	28	6	3
Occurrences of playful talk (from Table 4.6, in 4.3.1)	134	21	7	46	29	6
Percentage of teasing in playful talk	29.1%	28.6%	57.1%	60.9%	20.7%	50%

Table 4.11 indicates the following tendency: contexts towards the middle and non-institutional end of the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum (Figure 4.5, 4.2.5) triggered a high percentage of teasing activities in playful talk. This is the case of context 3 (lunchtime), context 4 (task-based classroom interactions during free time) and context 6 (free time in the schoolyard) that represent 57.1%, 60.9% and 50% of the playful talk produced in these contexts. An exception to this tendency is context 5, which exhibited the lowest percentage of teasing (only 20.7%). One explanation for this finding is that interactions during free time in the classroom included those moments after the break when pupils were settling down before the beginning of the class. During those moments pupils were not focused on specific tasks and activities that could have triggered teasing remarks (*field-notes*, 15/3/99). Contexts towards the institutionality end of the continuum showed a low percentage of teasing, due to the role of the teacher figure (4.2): in context 1 (whole-group instruction), teasing activities represented 29.1% of the playful talk, while in context 2 (small-group instruction) 28.6%.

4.4.2 Name-calling

Name-calling falls in the realm of agonistic discursive phenomena, such as 'verbal duelling' and 'ritual insulting'. Research on these phenomena has included the investigation of 'sounding' or 'playing the dozens' among African-American youth (Abrahams 1974; Kochman 1972, 1983; Labov 1972; Mitchell-Kernan 1972), verbal duelling among Turkish boys (Dundes, Leach & Özkök 1972) and ritual insulting among American white males (Leary 1980).

All these activities are characterised by a playful exchange of ritual insults. Murray (1983) distinguishes ritual insults from literal or personal ones 'by the greater outlandishness of characterization, and by the chaining of successive insults' of the former (: 189). He claims that in ritual insults:

> each retort is linked to the preceding insult, prototypically by rhyme, but also by building on the semantic foundation of the first insult or making a "play" on its words (: 189).

Following Labov (1972) and Kochman (1983), Eder (1995) differentiates between ritual and personal insults on the basis of their truth validity and the types of participant responses they elicit. In the case of ritual insulting, the initiator of the insulting routine employs insults that the recipient is not likely to take as true and is to answer in a ritual way. In the case of personal insulting, on the other hand, the initiator can use any insult and it depends on the recipient to interpret it as true or not and to respond accordingly (: 73).

In this thesis, the terms 'verbal duelling' and 'ritual insulting' are not adopted, as they do not capture what is going on in the data. Instead, the term 'name-calling' is proposed.

Name-calling is taken to mean a verbal activity that encompasses the use of both ritual and personal insults. Unlike 'verbal duelling' and 'ritual insulting', name-calling does not rely on the assumption that the cues peer group members employ to trigger these activities are ritual insults. Moreover, this term does not assume that the recipients of the cues will necessarily interpret them as ritual insults (they may interpret them as personal insults, see 5.5.3).

In this respect, by using the term 'name-calling', the focus of the analysis and interpretation is on how recipients address these cues (cf. Eder 1995; Kochman 1983). Furthermore, the term 'name-calling' can account for the flexible interactional ground rules identified in the data as opposed to those in 'verbal duelling' and 'ritual insulting' (5.3). It can also aid in the exploration of the interplay between innovation and ritual, which characterises this verbal activity (ibid).

Although researchers, such as Tannock (1999), include teasing in insulting routines (: 319), in this thesis, teasing and name-calling are seen as two distinct yet interconnected activities. As will be shown (5.2.1- 5.2.2), sequentially, teasing activities may trigger name-calling activities and vice-versa. Interactionally, they are both highly context-dependent activities, which is reflected in the range of responses they elicit (5.5).

To initiate and develop name-calling activities, peer group members make use of the following cues: nicknames, cries, terms of verbal abuse, nonsense words, fast pace, laughter, vowel elongation, shifts in stress, rhythm and rhyme (see also Table 4.20, in 4.5). These cues occur in clusters and are aimed at a present interlocutor. For example, in excerpt 6, Tuncay and Nontas engage in a name-calling activity (lines 4- 9). They

introduce and maintain this activity, by resorting to references to each other's nickname, 'Τούτζα Μούτζα' ('Tunza Munza') and 'Βαμβάκι/Μπαμπάκι' ('Vambaki/Babaki') respectively in rapid succession.

Excerpt 6 (context 6, 17/3/99; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 6, Appendix IV)

4Τουτζάι	((στη Μπαχριέ)) έλα έλα *ff*	[Μπαμπάκι: hhhh
4Tuncay	**((to Bahrye)) come closer come closer**	**[Babaki (i.e. cotton) hhhh**
5Μπαχριέ		[hhhhhhh
5Bahyre		**[hhhhhhh**
6Νώντας	*acc* (h)Τού(hh)τζα Μού(hh)τζα	
6Nontas	**Tudza Mudza**	
7Μπαχριέ	*Tunca .. sen ( ) bırakmayın ben bırakmacayım=*	
7Bahrye	**Tundza .. ((if)) you don't let me ((use it)) neither shall I=**	
8Τουτζάι	=Βαμ [βάκι	
8Tuncay	**=Vam[vaki**	
9Νώντας	*acc* [Τούτζα Μούτζα	
9Nontas	**[Tundza Mundza**	
10Μπαχριέ	hhhhhh	
10Bahrye	**hhhhhh**	

Table 4.12 demonstrates the number (N) of name-calling activities in contexts 1-6 (a total of 41) and their percentage in playful talk per context.

Table 4.12. Name-calling in contexts 1-6

Contexts	Context 1	Context 2	Context 3	Context 4	Context 5	Context 6
N of name-calling activities	9	9	2	8	8	5
Occurrences of playful talk (from Table 4.3, in 4.3.1)	134	21	7	46	29	6
Percentage of name-calling in playful talk	6.7%	42.9%	28.6%	17.4%	27.6%	83.3%

Table 4.12 does not reveal a strong correlation between the percentage of name-calling activities in playful talk across contexts and the position of these contexts along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum (see Figure 4.5, 4.2.5.). As Blatchford (1998) and Kelly (1994) have demonstrated, name-calling is an enduring feature of playground talk. This may account for the particularly high percentage of name-calling activities (83.3%) in context 6 (playground interactions during free time). Contexts 4-5 that are also positioned towards the non-institutionality end of the continuum, however, did not trigger such high percentages of name-calling in playful talk: context 4 (interactions during free time in the classroom, task-based) produced 17.4%, while context 5 (interactions during free time in the classroom) 27%. As will be demonstrated, this finding is associated with the participant parameter: name-calling exchanges usually occurred when specific participants interacted with one another (see Table 5.1b, in 5.1).

While low percentages of name-calling were expected in instructional contexts (contexts 1- 2), as they are placed towards the institutionality rear of the continuum, context 2 (small-group instruction) generated a high percentage of name-calling (42.9%). This finding reveals that name-calling is not restricted to playground interactions, where it has been traditionally examined (Blatchford 1998; Kelly, 1994). Instead, it can be triggered in instructional contexts (notably small-group instruction, context 2) as well. The analysis suggests that the small-group participant structure with limited teacher intervention of context 2 provided fertile ground for the initiation of name-calling activities in discourse (6.4). The role of the participant parameter was further reinforced by the fact that the members of the small group were the same interactants who initiated and participated in name-calling activities in other contexts (e.g. during free time).

4.4.3 Joking

Boxer and Cortés-Conde (1997) distinguish between joking and teasing on the basis of whether these activities are directed at someone present or not. They define joking as a verbal activity that is aimed at an absent third party. In teasing, however, the target for teasing is a present interlocutor (: 279). This basic distinction between joking and teasing is adopted in this thesis.

A close look at the data, however, indicates that joking need not only be directed towards an absent third party: participants may joke about an object, a situation or oneself by skilfully using language to that end. Bearing these findings in mind, for the purpose of this study, joking is taken to mean a verbal activity that is directed at an absent third party, object or situation (excerpt 3, line 5) as well as at oneself (excerpt 4, lines 4-5). To initiate joking activities, participants make use of cues, such as using exaggeration and hyperbole, laughter and nonsense words (see Table 4.20, in 4.5).

For example, in excerpt 7, Tuncay introduces a joking activity in discourse. The activity is triggered by the teacher's reference to a country (Italy), which resembles a boot (lines 1-2). Tuncay builds on this reference and jokes about Italy looking like to a shoe instead (line 5).

Excerpt 7 (context 1, 18/3/99, with the English foreign language teacher)

1Δασκάλα	*f* πάμε στο νούμερο <u>δύο</u> .. .. αυτή η χώρα μοιάζει με μπότα ..
1Teacher	**ok let's move on to number two now this country looks like a boot**
2Τουτζάι	(hh)μπότα; ..
2Tuncay	**a boot?**
3Κώστας	*p* ε- κα::λά- .. η Ιταλία=
3Costas	**well that's easy it's Italy**
4 Δασκάλα	*f* ποιά χώρα [είναι;
4 Teacher	**which country [is it?**

5Τουτζάι		[*p* α::- (h)παπούτσι είναι(hh) .
5Tuncay		**[oh it's a (h)shoe(hh)**
6Κώστας	*f* Ιταλία::	
6Costas	**((it's)) Italy**	

When participants joke about themselves, 'the speaker is the centre of the verbal playing' (Boxer & Cortés-Conde 1997: 281). Such instances of joking have been called 'self-denigrating humour' or 'self-teasing' (ibid).

For instance, in excerpt 4, Babis uses a joking activity directed towards himself to respond to Bahrye's teasing remarks regarding his slowness in doing his homework (line 3). In doing so, he resorts to self-denigrating humour 'δε πειράζει δεν κάνουμε αγώνες άμα κάναμε αγώνες θα σ' είχα περάσει με δυο χιλιάδες λάθη' ('that's ok we're not competing if we were competing I would have won by two thousand mistakes', line 4). By self-teasing, Babis acknowledges that he is not as good a pupil as Bahrye, who is cast as being more efficient and effective in finishing the homework on time.

Excerpt 8 (context 4, 15/3/99)

	((Ο Μπάμπης και η Μπαχριέ κάνουν την εργασία για το σπίτι στο διάλειμμα))
	((Babis and Bahrye are doing their homework during break time))
1Μπαχριέ	*f* ωχ Μπάμπη εγώ σε περν- .
1Bahrye	**oh Babis I'm ahea-**
2Μπάμπης	α; .. ..
2Babis	**huh?**
3Μπαχριέ	*ff* εγώ σε περνάω παιδά-=
3Bahrye	**I'm ahead of you du-=**
4Μπάμπης	=*acc* δε πειράζει .. .. δεν κάνουμε αγώνες . *f acc* άμα κάναμε αγώνες .
4Babis	**=that's ok we're not competing if we were competing ((to finish our**
5	θα σ' είχα περάσει με δυο χιλιάδες λάθη [4 sec]
5	**homework)) I would have won by two thousand mistakes [4 sec]**
	((Η Βάσια γράφει στον πίνακα))
	((Vasia is writing on the blackboard))

Table 4.13 demonstrates the number (N) of joking activities in contexts 1-6 (a total of 44) and their percentage in playful talk in each context.

Table 4.13. Joking in contexts 1-6

	Context 1	Context 2	Context 3	Context 4	Context 5	Context 6
N of joking activities	36	3	2	0	1	2
Occurrences of playful talk (from Table 4.3, in 4.3.1)	134	21	7	46	29	6
Percentage of joking in playful talk	26.9%	14.3%	28.6%	0%	3.4%	33.3%

Table 4.13 demonstrates that contexts towards the middle and institutionality end of the continuum (Figure 4.5, in 4.2.5.) produced a high frequency of joking activities in playful talk. In particular, context 3 (lunchtime interactions) generated 28.6%, context 1 (whole-group instruction) 26.9% and context 2 (small-group instruction) 14.3%. An exception to this tendency is context 6 (playground interactions during free time): although it is positioned towards the non-institutionality rear of the continuum, it exhibited the highest frequency of joking (33.3%). Contexts 4 and 5, which are also positioned towards the same end of the continuum, however, generated very little joking. Indeed, context 4 (task-based interactions during free time) and context 5 (classroom interactions during free time) triggered the lowest frequency of joking across the continuum, 0% and 3.4% respectively [73].

[73] It is important to note that due to the low number of joking activities in contexts 2, 3, 5 and 6 a quantitative analysis may yield less illuminating findings than a qualitative one.

Overall, these findings suggest that joking activities tend to be generated primarily in contexts towards the middle and institutionality end of the continuum (contexts 1-3). This can be explained by the fact that topics for joking, in contexts 1-2 in particular, were frequently triggered by instructional talk (*field-notes*, 15/3/99; also excerpt 8 above).

4.4.4. Language play

By language play, this thesis takes to mean the conscious or unconscious manipulation of elements of languages (i.e. Greek, Turkish and English) to create a comic effect. One type of language play that was identified in the data was punning. Puns exploit similarities in sounds among words that have different meanings, but share identical or near-identical pronunciation (Cook 2000; Sherzer 1993; see also Table 4.20, in 4.5).

For instance, in excerpt 9, in response to my clarification request regarding the meaning of the word 'Κόλλια' ('Kollia') (line 7), Husein exploits the identical pronunciation between Giannis' surname/nickname (i.e. 'Κόλλια', 'Kollia', lines 4-6) and the noun 'kolya' (meaning 'necklace' in the Turkish variety of Gazi) (line 8).

Excerpt 9 (context 5, 15/3/99; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 15, Appendix V)

4Χουσείν	[*acc f* Βάσια Πολυκαδρίτη Κό:λλια Κό:λλια . Κό:λλια
4Husein	**[Vasia Polukadriti Kollia Kollia Kollia**
5	Κό:λλια Κό:λλια Κό:λλια ((τραγουδιστά)) Κό:λλια Κό:λλια
5	**Kollia Kollia Kollia ((singing)) Kollia Kollia**
6	*ff* Κό::λλια:: Κό::λλια::=
6	**Kollia Kollia=**
7Βάλλη	=((προς Χουσείν)) τί θα πει αυτή η λέξη;
7Vally	**=((to Husein)) what does this word mean?**
8Χουσείν	Κόλλια/*kolya* αυτό φοράς
8Husein	**Kollia/kolya [74] you're wearing it**
9Βάλλη	αα τί; τίναι αυτό;
9Vally	**huh what? what's that?**

[74] I have included both words in the transcript, because it is not clear which of the two words Husein is referring to.

Other types of language play consisted of adding the same suffix to different first names and manipulating the stress of words and the pronunciation of consonants [75]. For example, in excerpt 10, Tuncay and Costas engage in a language play activity, by adding the suffix [–ε] [-e] at the word roots of male names (lines 1- 4) [76]. This activity was triggered by a reference to the name of one of the characters ('Prater', line 1) from a story they were reading silently, in class.

Excerpt 10 (context 1, 30/3/99;with the form teacher)

	((Οι μαθητές διαβάζουν ένα κομμάτι μιας ιστορίας σιωπηλά))
	((The pupils have been asked to read an excerpt from a story silently))
1Τουτζάι	*p* Πράτερ . Δήμητρα . Τάσε . Χρήστε .
1Tuncay	**Prater Dimitra Tas[e] Christ[e]**
2Κώστας	(hihi) Τζώρτζε ..
2Costas	**(hihi)Georg[e]**
3Τουτζάι	Νίκε(hh) ..
3Tuncay	**Nik[e](hh)**
4Κώστας	Νώ(hh)ντε ..
4Costas	**No(hh)nt[e]**

Table 4.14 demonstrates the number (N) of language play activities in contexts 1-6 (a total of 13) and their percentage in playful talk in each context.

[75] Note that types of word play, such as puzzles, riddles or formal language games, such as Pig Latin or talking backwards (Crystal 1998) did not emerge in the data. The reason for the absence of these types of word play may have to do with the absence of other highly routinised activities in the data, such as joke-telling.

[76] I have put the suffix in brackets to highlight it the transcript below (excerpt 10).

Table 4.14. Language play in contexts 1-6

Contexts	Context 1	Context 2	Context 3	Context 4	Context 5	Context 6
Number of language play activities	9	1	1	1	1	0
Occurrences of playful talk (from Table 4.3, in 4.3.1)	134	21	7	46	29	6
Percentage of language play in playful talk	7%	4.8%	14.3%	2.2%	3.4%	0%

Table 4.14 indicates that language play activities emerged in contexts towards the middle and institutionality end of the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum (see Figure 4.5, 4.2.5.). More specifically, context 3 (lunchtime interactions) exhibited the highest percentage of language play in playful talk (14.3%). It was followed by context 1 (whole-group instruction) with 7% and context 2 (small-group instruction) with 4.8%. Contexts towards the non-institutionality end of the continuum, on the other hand, triggered a low percentage of language play [77].

Similar to joking activities, these findings suggest that language play activities are produced primarily in contexts towards the middle and institutionality rear of the continuum (contexts 1-3). As in the case of joking activities, in contexts 1-2, topics for language play were frequently generated by instructional talk (e.g. excerpt 10 above).

[77] It is important to note that due to the low number of language play activities in contexts 2, 3, 4 and 5 a quantitative analysis may yield less illuminating findings than a qualitative one.

4.4.5 Performance-oriented phenomena

Performance-oriented phenomena is a super-ordinate category, which has been devised to encompass the following verbal activities: (1) singing; (2) crying out; (3) reciting and (4) role enactments (4.4.5.1- 4.4.5.4). All these activities share a high degree of references to common texts, especially those associated with TV and music. Although activities discussed so far (4.4.1- 4.4.4) may also require an understanding of shared references (e.g. the language play on the words 'Kollia- kolya', line 5, excerpt 5, in 4.4.4), shared understandings are indispensable in interpreting performance-oriented phenomena.

Simultaneously, activities that are subsumed under this super-ordinate category have a performance-like quality, which distinguishes them from the verbal activities presented thus far (4.1.1- 4.4.4). This performance-like quality takes the form of participants placing an emphasis on verbal skill, routine and innovation (cf. Bauman 1984). For instance, in their singing activities, participants may seek to reproduce a song as faithfully as possible or they may try to alter it, by manipulating loudness, pitch, rhythm and pace. Unlike performances as defined in Bauman (1984: 4), however, these activities are not necessarily open to audience scrutiny and evaluation (*field-notes*, 18/3/99).

4.4.5.1 Singing

Singing activities involve the singing of the refrains and opening lines of popular, at the time of the fieldwork, Greek songs. Songs clustered with other contextualization cues such as impersonations, sing-song intonation, shifts in pitch, volume and stress and laughter (see Table 4.20, in 4.5). Singing activities varied in how close they reproduced the original song, as some peer group members were more faithful to the original version

than others (e.g. interactants could abide to or alter the rhythm, pitch and pace of the original song).

In excerpt 11, Meltem rhythmically sings the refrain of a song by the Greek rap group 'Ημισκούμπρια' ('Imiskoumria').

Excerpt 11 (context 1, 18/3/99; with the English foreign language teacher; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 3, Appendix V)

1Μελτέμ	((τραγουδάει)) γει-ά σας . με λένε Πό-πη: . σα τη για-γιά μου την
1Meltem	**((she raps)) hi there my name is Popi just like my granny**
2	Καλλιό-πη . αχ να με λέ-γανε Κυβέ:λη- .
2	**Kalliopi oh how I wish my name were Kiveli**

Table 4.15 shows the number (N) of singing activities in contexts 1-6 (a total of 29) and their percentage in playful talk across contexts.

Table 4.15. Singing activities in contexts 1-6

Context	Context 1	Context 2	Context 3	Context 4	Context 5	Context 6
N of singing activities	8	1	2	13	5	0
Occurrences of playful talk (from Table 4.3, in 4.3.1)	134	21	7	46	29	6
Percentage of singing in playful talk	6%	4.8%	28.6%	28.3%	17.2%	0%

Table 4.15 demonstrates that singing activities emerged in contexts placed towards the middle and non-institutionality end of the continuum (see Figure 4.5, 4.2.5.). In

particular, the highest percentage of singing was produced in context 3 (lunchtime) 28.6% and context 4 (task-based classroom interactions during free time) 28.3%. It was followed by context 5 (classroom exchanges during free time) that generated 17.2% of singing in playful talk.

An exception to this tendency was context 6 (schoolyard interactions during free time). Although context 6 is positioned towards the non-institutionality end of the continuum, it did not trigger any singing activities. This finding could have resulted from the participant configurations in the exchanges recorded in context 6: they favoured the production of name-calling activities among male peer group members over singing activities (see Table 4.12, 4.4.2).

In accordance with the tendency reported above, singing activities during instruction (contexts 1-2) were infrequent. Both contexts 1 and 2 were positioned towards the institutionality end of the continuum and generated 6% and 4.8% of singing in playful talk respectively.

4.4.5.2 Crying out

Crying out activities are verbal activities that are characterized by the calling out of cries, nonsense cries, one-liners, nicknames and words in English and Turkish. These cues co-occur with impersonations, laughter and elongated vowels that are delivered in a loud and declamatory manner (see also Table 4.20, in 4.5). In excerpt 12, Husein initiates a crying out activity, by producing a transformation of the Turkish one-liner 'gel bana' (i.e. 'gei bana'. 'come to me', line 2). The crying out activity is further sustained, when Tuncay calls out a cry in Turkish 'anja ma' ('mummy ma', line 4). This cry is based on the

palatalization of the [n] in the word 'anna' ('mother') that appears to transform this cry into baby-talk.

Excerpt 12 (context 1, 30/3/99;with the teacher for the class history project. For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 4, Appendix V) [78]

Centre			Periphery	
…				
7Δασκάλα	και αρπαγή γράψτε ..			
7Teacher	**and write ((the word)) 'capture'**			
8Χουσείν	*p gei bana ..*			
8Husein	**come to me**			
9Βάσια	((γράφει))	α[ρ::παγή	9Τουτζάι	[(hh) *anja ma:::*
9Vasia	**((she writes))**	**ca[pture**	**9Tuncay**	**[mummy ma**

Table 4.16 features the number (N) of crying out activities in contexts 1-6 (a total of 114) and their percentage in playful talk in each context.

Table 4.16. Crying out activities in contexts 1-6

	Context 1	Context 2	Context 3	Context 4	Context 5	Context 6
Number of crying out activities	52	10	5	16	23	8
Occurrences of playful talk (from Table 3, in 4.3.1)	134	21	7	46	29	6
Percentage of crying out in playful talk	38.8%	48.6%	71.4%	34.8%	79.3%	166.7%

Table 4.16 indicates that crying out activities were pervasive across contexts. They exhibited a high frequency in context 6 (schoolyard exchanges during free time) and in context 5 (interactions during free time in the classroom): 166.7% and 79.3% of the

[78] I use a parallel column format to capture more adequately the way talk is produced in the centre and periphery of classroom discourse during whole-group instruction (cf. Ribeiro 1993; see also chapter 6).

playful talk produced in each context. While these contexts were positioned towards the non-institutionality end of the continuum (see Figure 4.5, 4.2.5.), contexts towards the middle and non-institutionality end of the continuum also generated a high frequency of crying-out activities. In particular, context 3 (lunchtime exchanges) produced 71.4% and context 2 (small-group instruction) 48.6%. These findings indicate that, unlike other verbal activities discussed, crying out activities are generated in high frequency in all 6 contexts across the continuum (*field-notes*, 30/3/99).

4.4.5.3 Reciting

In this thesis, reciting activities are seen as verbal activities that are based on the recitation of fragments of poems and speeches for school-sponsored national celebrations. Recitations are produced in a loud, pompous manner, they generate laughter and participants attend to the way fragments of poems and speeches are delivered rather than to their content (see also Table 4.20, in 4.5). For instance, in excerpt 13, Meltem recites a fragment of a poem she had learned for one of the school celebrations (lines 1-2). Semantic meaning (i.e. whether what she is saying makes sense, see line 2) is overshadowed by the emphasis on the delivery of the fragment, through stress and rhythm.

Excerpt 13 (context 5, 15/3/99; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 2, Appendix IV)

1Μελτέμ	*f* γλυκοχαράζει η χαραυγή . λάμπουν ο ουρανός και η γη .
1Meltem	**a new day is breaking the sky and the earth are shining**
2	λάμπουν και βροντούν ταηδόνια και γλυκολαλούν ταηδόνια=
2	**the nightingales are shining and the nightingales are singing=**
3Χουσείν	=*ff* αμπιατό::
3Husein	**= abiato**

Table 4.17 features the number (N) of reciting activities in contexts 1-6 (a total of 6) and their percentage in playful talk per context.

Table 4.17. Reciting activities in contexts 1-6

Context	Context 1	Context 2	Context 3	Context 4	Context 5	Context 6
N of reciting activities	2	0	0	0	4	0
Occurrences of playful talk (from Table 4.3, in 4.3.1)	134	21	7	46	29	6
Percentage of reciting in playful talk	1.5%	0%	0%	0%	13.8%	0%

Table 4.17 demonstrates that only two contexts favoured the triggering of reciting activities: context 5 (interactions during free time in the classroom) generated 13.8% and context 1 (whole-group instruction) 1.5%. The emergence of these activities exclusively in these two contexts is attributed to participant configurations: only two Greek-Turkish bilingual girls only (Meltem and Bahrye) produced reciting activities (see also Table 4.20, in 4.5). This finding strongly suggests a link between reciting activities and female peer group members (see 4.5.6, for a discussion).

4.4.5.4 Role enactments

By role enactment activities, this study takes to mean verbal activities during which interactants enact different personas (e.g. TV host, singer, etc). To enact these personas, peer group members make use of the following contextualization cues: impersonations, code-switches, songs, shifts in pitch, volume, stress, gesturing and laughter delivered in a

loud and declamatory manner (see Table 4.20, in 4.5). In addition, they manipulate the microphone.

The role enactment activities in the data did not have set characters, plot and dialogue (contra Curtis 1998 reported in Bishop & Curtis 2001b: 17) [79]. These elements were negotiated among participants, before the initiation of the activity and while it was developed. These negotiations reveal a degree of ritualisation in these activities. As shown in excerpt 14 below, Bahrye takes up the role of orchestrating the activity: she allocates next-speakership rights (Meltem is to sing first, line 1), attempts to start the activity thrice (line 5, 8, 10) and assigns Vasia and Babis the role of the audience (she encourages them to shift their attention to Meltem, who is going to sing for them, line 5). The role enactment activity proper begins, when Meltem starts her singing routine (lines 11-12 onwards).

Excerpt 14 (context 5, 15/3/99; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 13, Appendix V)

1Μπαχριέ	*f* πρώτα η Μελτέμ τραγουδάει . έλα=
1Bahrye	**first Meltem sings come on=**
	((δίνει το μικρόφωνο στη Μελτέμ))
	((Bahrye hands the microphone over to Meltem))
2Βάλλη	=εντάξει:; . με προσοχή μεγάλη θέλω
2Vally	**=ok? I want you to be very careful ((with the microphone))**
3Μπάμπης	((τραγουδιστά)) *f* ταλαριραρι[ρουμ
3Babis	((he sings)) talarirari[roum
4( )	[σ::
4( )	**[sh**
5Μπαχριέ	*f* έν- α:: δύ:ο τρία:: . *acc* εμείς [τη βλέπουμε
5Bahrye	**one two three . we [are looking at her**
6Μελτέμ	[*f* ‘α:::ι::: ((στη Βάλλη)) εσύ θα φύ:γεις;
6Meltem	**[a i ((to Vally)) will you leave now?**
7Βάλλη	θα φύγω να μην ακούω .. θέλεις να μείνω; ..
7Vally	**I’ll leave now so that I don’t hear do you want me to stay?**
8Μπαχριέ	έν::-α:: δύ::ο τρία:: πάμε=

[79] Note, however, that role enactment activities among younger children had set characters, plot and to some extent dialogue that was lifted from popular, at the time of the fieldwork, Brazilian soap operas (*field-notes*, 17/2/99).

8Bahrye **one two three go=**
9Μελτέμ =*acc* 'α::- άσε μας ..
9Meltem **=a leave us alone**
10Μπαχριέ *p* έλα
10Bahrye **come on**
11Μελτέμ ((τραγουδά)) *ff* στο ασανσέρ που συναντιώ::μαστε
11Meltem **((she sings)) whenever we meet in the lift**
12 φαντα[ζό::μαστε να συμ[βαίνουν
12 **we ima[gine all sorts of wild [things happening between us**

Table 4.18 indicates the number (N) of role-enactment activities in contexts 1-6 (a total of 6) and their percentage in playful talk in each context.

Table 4.18. Role enactment activities in contexts 1-6

Contexts	Context 1	Context 2	Context 3	Context 4	Context 5	Context 6
N of role-enactment activities	0	0	0	1	5	0
Occurrences of playful talk (from Table 4.3, in 4.3.1)	134	21	7	46	29	6
Percentage of role-enacting in playful talk	0%	0%	0%	2.2%	17.2%	0%

Similar to reciting activities (Table 4.17, 4.4.5.3), role enactment activities were triggered exclusively in context 5 (free time interactions in the classroom) and context 4 (task-based interactions during free time) (Table 4.18 above). Because of the structure of these activities (i.e. negotiations over characters, plot and dialogue, see excerpt 14 above, lines 1-10), role enactments could only occur in interactions during free time. That such activities did not also take place in context 6 (schoolyard exchanges) could be influenced by peer group members' engagement with physical activities (e.g. playing football, chasing) in thist setting (*field-notes*, 17/2/99).

As with reciting activities, role enactments were confined mainly among female peer group members (Vasia, Meltem, Bahrye and Maria, see Table 4.20, in 4.5). This finding also points to an association between role enactments and female peer group members (see 4.5.4, for a discussion). Moreover, their overall scarcity in playful talk as opposed to their higher frequency among younger children (*field-notes*, 17/2/99) suggests age-specific preferences and practices: role-enactments were favoured by 1st to 3rd graders but not by 4th graders.

4.4.6 Verbal activities across contexts 1-6: an overview

Drawing on finding from sections 4.4.1- 4.4.5.4, Table 4.19 below presents an overview of the verbal activities across contexts 1-6 in order to illustrate their frequency across these contexts. It indicates the total number of activities across contexts 1-6 and the mean percentage of each verbal activity in playful talk.

Table 4.19. Verbal activities across contexts 1-6: an overview

Activities	Total number of activities	Mean percentage of each verbal activity in playful talk
Teasing	86	41.06%
Name-calling	41	34.41%
Joking	44	17.75%
Language play	13	5.28%
Singing	29	14.15%
Crying out	114	73.26%
Reciting	6	2.55%
Role enactments	6	3.23%

Table 4.19 demonstrates that the most frequently introduced activity in discourse was crying out (73.26%) followed by teasing (41.06%) and name-calling (34.41%). The high frequency of crying out activities is explained by the sequencing rules and the participant

configurations they elicited. Usually crying out activities were not anchored on prior talk and they did not elicit uptakes, in other words, these activities frequently consisted of an initiation by as single participant (e.g. excerpt 1, line 3, in 4.3). The fact that they did not elicit uptakes often was further reinforced by their defused nature: unlike teasing and name-calling activities (5.2.1- 5.2.2), crying out activities were not directed towards specific targets. As a result, crying out activities functioned as the most popular resource to initiate playful talk in discourse, thereby accounting for their high frequency across contexts.

The least frequent activities were reciting (2.55%), role enactments (3.23%) and language play (5.28%). The low frequency of these activities is explained by the fact that they emerged in a limited number of contexts and were initiated by a small number of participants (see Table 4.20, in 4.5). This made these activities less popular among the 4th graders as opposed to teasing and name-calling for instance, in which all peer group members participated, thereby increasing the frequency of the latter two activities in playful talk (see Table 4.20, in 4.5). Joking (17.75%) and singing (14.15%) activities occupied middle frequencies.

4.5 Probing into contextualization cues in playful talk

In 4.4.1- 4.4.5.4, the contextualization cues that were used to initiate verbal activities and construct play frames were briefly presented. Before proceeding with a detailed discussion of these contextualization cues, the following Table (Table 4.20) presents an overview of the cues and their users, as identified in the data.

Table 4.20. Contextualization cues and users per verbal activity: an overview

Verbal activities	Contextualization cues	Users
Teasing	mock challenges, threats, commands one-liners, terms of verbal abuse, nicknames, code-switches, laughter, hair pulling, nape-slapping	Husein, Babis, Giannis, Tuncay, Bahrye, Meltem, Nontas, Maria, Costas, Fanis
Name-calling	nicknames, cries, terms of verbal abuse nicknames, nonsense words, fast pace, laughter, vowel elongation, shifts in stress, rhythm and rhyme	Husein, Babis, Giannis, Tuncay, Bahrye, Meltem, Nontas
Joking	playing upon form, such as using exaggeration and hyperbole, laughter, nonsense words	Tuncay, Babis, Costas, Fanis, Vasia
Language play	manipulating elements of languages (i.e. Greek, Turkish, English), such as exploiting similarities in sounds among words that have different meanings, but share identical or near-identical pronunciation, adding the same suffix to different first names, manipulating the stress of words and the pronunciation of consonants, laughter, code-switches, nonsense words	Tuncay, Babis, Costas, Fanis, Meltem, Maria, Husein, Vasia
Singing	refrains and opening lines of songs, style-impersonations, sing-song intonation, shifts in pitch, volume and stress, laughter, code-switches	Bahrye, Meltem, Vasia, Maria, Giannis, Babis
Crying out	football cries, media-inspired cries, nonsense cries, impersonations, code-switches, one-liners, nicknames, loud and declamatory manner, laughter, elongated vowels, sing-song intonation, glottal stops	Husein, Tuncay, Giannis, Babis, Vasia, Bahrye
Reciting	fragments of poems and speeches, loud and declamatory manner, laughter	Bahrye, Meltem
Role enactments	impersonations, code-switches, songs shifts in pitch, volume, stress, loud and declamatory manner, laughter	Bahrye, Meltem, Vasia, Maria, Babis

As stated (1.3), the aforementioned contextualization cues are seen as framing devices, and, in particular, devices to frame playful talk. Table 4.20 demonstrates that while cues can be limited to specific activities, most cues are used to initiate and construct a number of verbal activities. For instance, fragments of poems and speeches are confined to

reciting activities. Nicknames, however, feature in teasing, name-calling and crying out activities. In other words, with exceptions (e.g. reciting activities), there is not a one-to-one correlation between cues and activities.

Moreover, Table 4.20 shows that the participation of peer group members in verbal activities is unequal. Babis, Giannis, Husein and Tuncay participated in a larger variety of verbal activities than Costas, Fanis and Nontas. Similarly, Vasia, Meltem and Bahrye took part in more activities than Maria. These findings reveal that certain peer group members were more prone to initiate and develop these activities than others.

Furthermore, this Table reveals a certain degree of gender differentiation across activities. In particular, teasing activities triggered the participation of peer group members of both sexes. Reciting and performance-oriented activities, however, were mainly confined to female peer group members, while name-calling and crying out activities were more prevalent among male peers (especially Giannis, Babis, Husein and Tuncay). Gender differentiation across activities demonstrates that playful talk cannot be regarded as uniformly produced across participants and that male and female peer group members may favour the production of different verbal activities in playful talk (see 7.1.1-7.1.3, for a discussion,).

In the following sections (4.5.1- 4.5.8), the contextualization cues presented in Table 4.12 are further explored in the context of ethnographic information regarding their history, origins, sources and meanings. This ethnographic information can foreground the necessary cultural assumptions and associations that underlay the meanings of these cues,

which can aid us in understanding and interpreting their use in the peer group members' playful talk.

4.5.1 Nicknames

Nicknames emerge as contextualization cues in teasing, name-calling and crying out activities (Table 4.20, in 4.5) [80]. They have been identified as one of the most salient resources used as contextualization cues in the peer group members' playful talk. By nicknames, this thesis takes to mean those names that have been given to peer group members by classmates and peers at school and reflect the way their bearers are perceived (Morgan, O' Neill & Harré 1979). Following Morgan, O' Neill & Harré (1979), nicknames (and names) are regarded as neither arbitrary labels nor neutral descriptors. On the contrary, they are viewed as 'rich in content and many kinds of associations' (ibid: 10). Similar to names, nicknames refer to the 'indexical here and now' (Silverman 1993: 38, reported in Rymes 1996: 242) and, like names, they:

> serve to describe individual traits; they index familiarity, kinship, and group membership; they pick out entire worlds of cultural significance (: 242).

The practice of nicknaming among the 4th graders emerged as a unique characteristic of this group, which was contrasted to the complete absence of nicknames among 1st- 3rd graders and their selective use among 5th - 6th grades at school (*field-notes*, 19/3/99). All peer group members had nicknames and used them for one another in playful talk. Usually, they coined the nicknames themselves, although in most cases there was no conclusive evidence regarding the identity of the 'name-givers' (i.e. those responsible for

[80] Nicknames, however, are not used only as contextualization cues to introduce and construct verbal activities. They are also employed as terms of address, interchangeably with first names, with the purpose of attracting a peer group member's attention or acknowledging such an attempt (*field-notes*, 17/2/99).

coining the nicknames) (*in-depth interview*, 15/9/99). According to 4th grade lore, Costas and Giannis inaugurated the practice of nicknaming, when in 3rd grade they started calling each other 'Γιαννούλα' ('Giannoula' [81]) and 'Κωσταντινούπολη' ('Constantinople' [82]) respectively. Initially, the use of these nicknames was confined to the two boys (ibid).

During the same school year, Meltem opened up the practice of nicknaming to more peer group members, by referring to herself as 'τρελή αγελάδα' ('Mad Cow') [83]. Meltem further enhanced this practice by introducing another self-reference, that of 'Meltem Cumbul', a popular Turkish actress and singer. The subsequent appropriation of Meltem's self-references as nicknames by her peers paved the way for the coining of more nicknames.

In their discussion of nicknames at school, Morgan, O' Neill & Harré (1979) distinguish between nicknames that are coined by using: (1) internal methods of formation and (2) external methods of formation. By internal methods of formation, they refer to nicknames that are constructed by making use of alliteration, rhyming, the addition of a suffix on the name or surname of the bearer. By external methods of formation, they mean nicknames that are triggered by references to the bearer's physical traits, character attributes or allusions to TV characters and so on (: 36; see also de Klerk & Bosch 1999). The investigation of the peer group members' nicknames indicates that the majority had been

---

[81] 'Giannoula' is the female equivalent of 'Giannis'. The issue of ascribing nicknames of the opposite sex to peer group members is addressed later in this section.
[82] 'Constandinoupoli' ('Constantinople') was the capital of the Byzantine Empire. At the same time, it is a major road in the area of Gazi. It has its root in the name Constantine (Constantinos). Costas is short for Constantinos.
[83] This self-reference was inspired by a class discussion on the mad cow disease (*in-depth interview*, 15/9/99).

formed by employing internal methods of formation, in particular, some kind of word play on the peer group members' given names or surnames (cf. Morgan, O' Neill & Harré 1979: 38).

The following Tables (4.21a-4.21b) present the different nicknames, their bearers and their meanings (*in-depth interview*, 15/9/99).

Table 4.21a. Nicknames formed by internal methods

1.Abbreviations of a peer group member's surname	**Σπηλιοπούλου** (Spiliopoulou: this is Maria's surname) > **Σπηλιά** (Spilia: this word means cave in Greek)
2.Addition of a suffix or word on the root of a peer group member's name or surname	**Βάσια** (Vasia)> **Βασιλόπιττα (1)999** (Vasilopita (1)999: Vasilopita is a special cake made in Greece for New Year's. The number of the new year is indicated on the cake, which explains why the year 1999 or 999 was part of Vasia's nickname). **Φάνης** (Fanis)> **Φανικό** (Faniko: may be a word play on 'faniko- foniko' which means 'murder')> **Φανούκλα** (Fanoukla may be a word play on 'fanoukla - pakoukla' which means 'plague'). **Κώστας** (Costas)> **Κωσταντινούπολη** (Constantinople)>**Κωνσταντινουπόλεως** (Constantinoupoleos: this is the genitive case of 'Constantinoupoli', 'Constantinople' in English) >**Κωσταντίνα** (Constandina: this is a girl's name. It's the female equivalent of Costas) **Γιάννης** (Giannis)> **Γιαννακόπιττα** (Giannakopita: this literally means 'Giannis' pie')> **Γιαννούλα** (Giannoula: is the female equivalent of 'Giannis') **Βαμβακούσης** (Vamvakousis: this is Nontas' surname) > **Βαμβάκι** (Vamvaki)> **Μπαμπάκι** (Babaki: both 'Vamvaki' and 'Babaki' mean 'cotton'. [V] and [B] are allophones. [V] is viewed as a more prestigious form, while [B] as a less prestigious one) > **Pamuk** (i.e. cotton in Turkish) **Χουσείν Σαλί** (Husein Sali: Sali is Husein's surname) > **Χουσείνα Σαλίνα** (Huseina Salina: By adding the vowel [a] at the end Husein's first and last names, they are transformed into female names)

3.Rhyme and rhythm	**Τουτζάι** (Tuncay)> **Τούτζα Μούτζα** (΄Tundza ΄Mundza: The first syllables of ΄Tundza ΄Mundza are stressed for rhythm. Also, 'mudza' in Greeks means a gesture that consists of opening one's palm and stretching out all five fingers. It is regarded as very rude)
4.Pun with some phonic link	**Μπάμπης** (Babis)> **Μπεμπιλίνο** (Bebilino)> **Μπεϊμπιλίνο** (Babylino: this is the name of a nappies brand)
5.Literal translation	**Τουτζάι** (Tuncay: his name is made up of the Turkish words 'tunç' ('bronze') and 'ay' ('moon') > **Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι** (Broudzino Fegari: bronze moon)

Table 4.21b. Nicknames formed by external methods

1.References to physical traits	**Μπαχριέ** (Bahrye)> **Σούμο** (Sumo) because she is fat (When Husein makes a reference to her nickname, he accompanies it with the sort of movements sumo fighters make, e.g. he stamps his feet on the ground, enacting the way sumo fighters move on stage; *in-depth interview*, 15/9/99) **Βάσια** (Vasia)> **Πολυκατοικία** (Polikatikia: this means block of flats in Greek) because she is tall **Φάνης** (Fanis)> **Σπανιόλα** (Spaniola: this means a woman from Spain) because he has a dark complexion. **Νώντας** (Nontas)> **Βαμβάκι** (Vamvaki)> **Μπαμπάκι** (Babaki)> **Pamuk** because he has very soft white skin
2.Allusions to TV personalities	**Μελτέμ** (Meltem) > **Meltem Cumbul** (popular Turkish actress and singer)
3.References to biographical events	**Χουσείν** (Husein)> **Κασσέττα** (Kassetta: means tape. Husein was called 'Kassetta' because his father owns a video store and sells tapes) > **Αντρέα** (Andrea: this is the vocative case of the name 'Andreas'. Husein's father also goes by the Christian name Andreas **Μελτέμ** (Meltem)> **Τρελή Αγελάδα** (Treli Agelada, i.e. mad cow based on a discussion on the mad cow disease) **Κώστας** (Costas)> **Κωσταντινουπόλεως** (Constantinoupoleos: this is the name of one of the main streets in the area of Gazi).

The data reveals an interesting case of nickname formation that has not been identified in the literature so far, notably using a peer group member's surname as nickname. This poses difficulties in classifying the nickname in question under the existing methods for nickname formation. For this reason, the existing classification of nicknames proposed by Morgan, O'Neill & Harré (1979) has been amended to include a third method for nickname formation that accounts for surnames doubling as nicknames.

The nickname in point is Giannis' surname ''Kollias' (vocative case ''Kollia', the stress is on the first syllable, e.g. Transcript 1, lines 1, 3-5, Appendix IV). In the Turkish variety of Gazi, ''kolya' (the stress on the first syllable) also means necklace (*field-notes*, 19/3/99). The equivalent word for necklace in Greek is 'kolyé' (the stress on the last syllable). The fact that Giannis' surname was also a real word in Turkish seems to have aided its transformation into a nickname. This claim is further supported, by the practice of using Turkish names and words as nicknames (e.g. 'Meltem Cumbul' and 'pamuk' for Meltem and Nontas respectively). The use of Giannis' surname as nickname, however, may reflect an attempt by peer group members to mark Giannis off from the rest of the group (cf. Morgan, O'Neill & Harré 1979: 46-47; for further discussion, see 7.1.5).

Tables 4.21a-4.21b above illustrate that four male peer group members had nicknames that were associated with a feminine identity: Giannis had been nicknamed 'Giannoula', Costas 'Constantina', Fanis 'Spaniola' and Husein 'Huseina Salina'. Only one female peer group member, however, had a nickname associated with a male identity: Bahrye was called 'Sumo'. As explained, these nicknames were not frequently used among peer group members in playful talk (*in-depth interview*, 15/9/99).

Apart from these nicknames associated with a feminine or masculine identity, other references to male-female relationships and sexuality did not emerge in playful talk. This absence could be related to the age of the participants, especially since references to male-female relationships and sexuality regularly emerged in playful talk among 5th and 6th graders (*field*-notes, 19/3/99, see also Eder 1993). In light of these findings, nicknames associated with a feminine or masculine identity could signal early attempts by 4th graders to deal with issues of gender and sexuality (see also 7.1.1).

Overall, the investigation of the peer group members' sustained nicknaming practices illustrates a link between these practices and the peer group members' history of shared past interactions at school. This can explain why similar nicknaming practices were not observed among other school-based peer groups. In addition, as shown, nicknames drew on rich and varied sources, notably the majority and minority languages and cultures, the institutional cultures of the school and of the 4th grade class as well as peer group members' individual characteristics (cf. Rymes 1996).

4.5.2 One-liners

One-liners are also employed as contextualization cues in teasing and crying out activities (Table 4.20, in 4.5) [84]. By one-liners, this study takes to mean a stock expression or fixed phrase interactants pick up from media sources and use in their talk (e.g. Transcript 3, lines 26- 27, Appendix IV). Table 4.22a illustrates the one-liners from Greek TV variety

[84] It is worth noting that unlike nicknames, the use of one-liners emerged in the discourse of other pre-adolescents (5th- 6th grades), at school (*field*-notes, 19/3/99). This may reflect a pre-adolescent (4th 6th grades) preoccupation with youth popular cultures and media consumption, especially TV and music (cf. Minks 1999).

shows that were popular among peer group members, at the time of the fieldwork, and their users (*survey interview 2*, 28/4/99).

Table 4.22a. One-liners from Greek TV shows and their users

Greek comedy shows	One-liners [85]	Users
'Κατά Μάρκον Ευαγγέλιο' ('The Gospel according to St. Mark' [86])	**χαχαχούχα** (haha´houha); **καλόοο εεε;** (that's a good one, right?); **τί λες ρε Καραγκιόζη;** (what are you talking about you clown?); **σκουλήκι θα μιλήσεις σκουλήκι** (you will talk to me you scum); **σωστός!!!** (thumbs up!!!)	Vasia, Giannis, Babis, Tuncay, Husein, Bahrye, Maria
'A.M.A.N.' ('Aman' [87])	**ευθυμήσαμε πάλι** (oh aren't we all happy now); **εεε δεν το πιστεύω** (I just DO NOT believe this); **σωστός!!!** (thumbs up!!!) [88]	Giannis, Babis, Vasia

Greek TV shows were not the only source of material for one-liners. One-liners from Turkish TV shows, that were aired on Türk-sat (the Turkish satellite), were also employed as contextualization cues (ibid; e.g. Transcript 4, lines 8, Appendix V). These one-liners were lifted from comedies starring the famous Turkish comedian Kemal Sunal. One of the most popular comedies was the high school sequel 'Hababam Sınıfı' (loosely translated as 'The Unruly Class'). This comedy sequel was filmed in the late '70s early '80s [89]. In this comedy sequel, Kemal Sunal plays the character of Şaban: a simple-minded character, who gets into all sorts of mischief, much of which not surprisingly involves women. Table 4.22b demonstrates the one-liners from Turkish TV shows that

[85] The translations provided try to render the meaning and force of these one-liners. In this sense, they are not literal translations.
[86] 'Mark' was the name of the main presenter of this show; hence, the double-reference of the title.
[87] 'Aman' is an exclamation in Greek that usually means 'for goodness sake' or 'mercy!'.
[88] It was claimed that this one-liner appeared in both TV shows (*survey interview 2*, 28/4/99).
[89] It was based on a book by Rifat Ilgaz and it was directed by Ertem Eğilmez.

were popular among peer group members, at the time of the fieldwork, and their users (ibid).

Table 4.22b. One-liners from Turkish TV shows and their users

Turkish comedy shows	One-liners	Users
'Hababam Sınıfı' ('The Unruly Class')	**çiçi meme** [90] (cute boobs); **gel bana** (come to me and its variants: **gee bana**, **gee mana**, **gei mana**); **inek Şaban** (Saban you cow); **esoğluesek** (son of a donkey)	Tuncay, Husein, Babis, Giannis, Vasia, Meltem, Bahrye

Unlike access to one-liners from Greek TV shows that was open to all peer group members, access to one-liners from Turkish TV comedies was restricted to Greek-Turkish bilinguals. Greek monolinguals gained access to these one-liners only indirectly, through their use by Greek-Turkish bilingual peers at school. As Table 4.22b indicates, only three Greek-speaking monolinguals (Giannis, Babis and Vasia) ventured to use Turkish one-liners as contextualization cues (e.g. Transcript 12, lines 3, 4-6, Appendix V). Such uses foreground issues of 'entitlement' (i.e. who has the right to use these one-liners) (Shuman 1992) and degrees of visibility of the minority culture at school (cf. Heller 1999) (for a discussion, see 7.1.4).

One-liners as contextualization cues were renewed and updated based on the latest TV hits (*survey interview 2*, 28/4/99). TV shows provide a wealth of resources for peer group members to draw leading to the constant flow of new material into their talk, with new one-liners replacing old ones at a fast pace. This finding is collaborated by research on peer cultures and the media. In particular, children's everyday experiences are

[90] This is a nonsense phrase in Turkish.

increasingly mediated by media sources, such as TV, the radio, tape and video-recordings (Gillespie 1995; Hass-Dyson1997; Minks 1999).

This line of research has shown that school-age children incorporate media inspired references in their talk among peers in the school setting (e.g. Grugeon 2001a, 2001b; Lytra 2002b; Rampton 1995). As Marsh (2001) argues, the media environment provides children with rich 'textual, musical and movement material' they can creatively employ in their play and talk (: 81). As a result, children engage in dialogic processes with media sources, during which they appropriate and transform materials and forms (see chapters 5-6). These processes result in constantly 'updating' the peer group culture (Bishop & Curtis 2001b: 60).

For instance, in excerpt 15 below, Vasia introduces a one-liner from the Greek comedy show 'The Gospel according to St. Mark', in discourse ('ω ρε μια μολυβάρα', 'oh what a huge pencil'). In the ensuing turns (lines 1- 5), she discusses her reference to the one-liner and the comedy show in question with Babis.

Excerpt 15 (context 4, 15/3/99; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 14, Appendix V)

1Βάσια	((στέκεται πάνω προς Μπάμπη)) κάνε- ντου=
1Vasia	**((standing over Babis)) do ntou=**
2Μπάμπης	=*f* ου ... μανούλα ντουρού
2Babis	**=ou manoula ntourou**
3Βάσια	ντουρούρου ντουρού . ω ρε μια μολυβά::ρα hahaha
3Vasia	**dourourou dourou oh what a huge pencil**
4	*acc* (ha)Μπάμπη (ha)Μπάμπη . ω- . ρε- . μια- . μολυβάρα hahaha
4	**Babi Babi oh (re-) what- a HUGE pencil**
5	στο 'Κατά Μάρκον Ευαγγέλιο' ... τόχεις δει; …. ε;
5	in **'The Gospel according to St. Mark' have you seen it? have you?**
6Μπάμπης	ποιό;
6Babis	**what?**
7Βάσια	στο 'Κατά Μάρκον Ευαγγέλιο'=
7Vasia	**in 'The Gospel according to St. Mark'=**
8Μπάπμης	*acc* δε το βλέπω ρε συ . δεν πρόλαβα να το δω το μεσημέρι=

8Babis	**I don't watch it (re) I missed it ((yesterday)) afternoon=**
9Βάσια	=πλάκα έχει hahaha ..
9Vasia	**=it's a lot of fun**
10Μπάμπης	*p* το ξέρω ..
10Babis	**I know**

Through such exchanges of media talk among peers (e.g. excerpt 15), novel one-liners become popular and old ones obsolete. As a result, during these processes, a shared peer group culture emerges. This example also serves to highlight that unlike nicknames, whose origins and interactional history can be traced through time, one-liners have a more ephemeral, here-and-now quality.

4.5.3 Songs

Songs as contextualization cues appear in singing and role enactment activities (Table 4.20, in 4.5). Peer group members exclusively employed the refrain or opening lines of Greek songs as contextualization cues (*field-notes* 26/2/99; e.g. Transcript 3, line 1-2, Appendix V). Similar to one-liners, their popularity was temporary and they were quickly replaced by news hits (ibid).

At the time of the fieldwork, the most commonly referred to Greek songs were: (1) the refrain from 'Στο Ασανσέρ' ('In the Elevator') sang by Βαλάντης (Valantis), a young male singer; (2) the refrain from the theme song of a popular TV love series called 'Ψίθυροι Καρδιάς' ('Whispers of the Heart'), (3) refrains and opening lines of songs sang by the rap group 'Ημισκούμπρια' ('Imiskoubria') and (4) refrains of songs lifted from Greek black and white films made in the '50s and '60s (cf. Georgakopoulou 2000).

Greek songs were sung by both Greek-speaking monolinguals (Giannis, Babis, Vasia, Maria) and Greek-Turkish bilinguals (Meltem, Bahrye) (Table 4.20, in 4.5). Girls,

however, sang a wider range of songs than boys, whose repertoire was mainly confined to singing rap songs (*field-notes* 26/2/99). As a result, girls (Meltem, Bahrye, Vasia, Maria) generated more singing activities than boys (Giannis, Babis). These findings point to gender differentiation in music preferences and singing practices between boys and girls (see 7.1.3). This occasion of gender differentiation appears to be linked to the recreational practices of boys and girls during free time: while boys participated in sports, girls engaged in less physical activities, including singing activities (see 3.4.2, cf. Rampton 1995).

4.5.4 Impersonations and code-switches

As far as impersonations are concerned, they were used as contextualizaiton cues in singing, role enactment and crying out activities (see Table 4.20, in 4.5). Following Sebba (1994), impersonations are seen as:

> creating or evoking a character by the use of a particular speech style embedded in talk in another style (Sebba 1994: 131).

The data indicate that the sources of inspiration of many of the impersonations were popular Greek variety shows, such as 'Πρωινός Καφές' ('Morning Coffee') (*field-notes* 26/2/99; also *questionnaires*; e.g. Transcript 113, lines 16- 20, Appendix V). Shows that fall under this TV genre exhibit a fixed participant structure with well determined roles: they feature a hostess, who is responsible for orchestrating the show, along with an aggregate of glamorous and more obscure media personalities. The hostess tends to adopt a conversational style characterised by fast mode of delivery, laughter and elongated vowels. She extensively uses stock phrases and witticisms as well as marked openings and closings to highlight different conversational moves (cf. Makri- Tsilipakou 2001).

Other sources of inspiration for impersonations were music videos. Peer group members integrated singing styles in their playful talk promoted by these videos. For instance, they emulated pitch swings and the use of elongated vowels to make their singing sound more emotional (e.g. Transcript 13, lines 11-12, Appendix V). They also made use of exaggerated gesturing and body movements and manipulated the microphone. As in the case of songs, female peer group members (Meltem, Vasia, Bahrye, Maria) mainly used impersonations as contextualization cues in playful talk. This is attributed to the fact that impersonations were prevalent in activities that were dominated by girls (i.e. singing and role enactments).

Code-switches emerge in a wider range of activities than songs and impersonations. These are teasing, language play, crying out and role-enactment activities (see Table 4.12, 4.5). Following Gumperz (1982), code-switching is defined as:

> the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems (: 59).

Code-switches as cues in playful talk involved switches from Greek to either English or Turkish (*field-notes*, 15/3/99). Code-switches to English included references to fragments of songs, such as the Christmas carol 'Jingle Bells' and rock songs (ibid; e.g. Transcript 4, lines 13- 15, Appendix IV). Other references were formulaic greeting and parting expressions (e.g. 'hello', 'bye bye') and personal questions (e.g. 'what's your name?', 'how old are you?').

Code-switches to English were due to the increasing presence of English in the daily lives of peer group members: most peer group members studied English outside school (in

foreign language centres) and watched films and listened to music in English (*questionnaires*). They reflected the gradual appearance, at the time of the fieldwork, of English words and phrases on TV advertisements and Greek comedy shows that associated the use of English with images of being trendy (*field-notes*, 15/3/99).

Both Greek-speaking monolinguals and Greek-Turkish bilinguals engaged in code-switching to English in playful talk. Because these switches involved the use of fragments of songs and formulaic expressions, they were readily accessible to all peer group members regardless of their level of proficiency. The absence of a linguistic barrier coupled with the fact that English was not the 'we' code (Gumperz 1982a) of any peer group member led to the integration of code-switches to English as cues in playful talk.

Overall, code-switching to Turkish was reserved for Greek-Turkish bilinguals, where Turkish featured as the 'we' code (Gumperz 1982a). However, code-switches in playful among peers in contact encounters were not the norm (*field-notes*, 15/3/99). In addition, the restricted use of Turkish by Greek-speaking monolinguals suggested limited mobility between the two codes, especially since, unlike English, Turkish was not a shared code among peer group members (see 7.1.4, for a discussion)

4.5.5 Cries and nonsense cries

Cries emerge in crying out and name-calling activities (Table 4.20, in 4.5). By cries, this thesis takes to mean stock expressions that were usually delivered in a loud, declamatory voice. The main source of cries in playful talk was cries chanted in sports events (*field-notes*. 19/3/99). For instance, male peer group members frequently called out 'Cimbom

Galata Saray' ('Go Galata Saray') (the cry of the Turkish football club Galata Saray. or 'A.E.K. ολέ' ('Go A.E.K.') (the equivalent cry of the Greek football club A.E.K.).

Occasionally, sources of cries came from high profile incidents (*field-notes*, 1/1/99). During the fieldwork, one such high profile international incident involved the capture and subsequent trial of the leader of the outlawed Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK), Abdullah Öcalan, by the Turkish authorities. His trail attracted significant media coverage across Europe, leading to a number of demonstrations by Kurds (mainly political refugees) living abroad. Such demonstrations also took place in Greece, where a sizable number of Kurds has been granted political asylum.

The cries associated with this incident that emerged in the data were: 'Οτσαλάν ΠΚΚ' ('Öcalan PKK'), 'Οτσαλάν' ('Öcalan') 'άβε άβε Κουρδιστάν' ('long live Kurdistan') and 'Κουρδιστάν' ('Kurdistan'). These cries were employed mainly by male peer group members across linguistic and cultural backgrounds (e.g. Transcript 1, lines 13, 15- 16). The use of these cries was the product of the extensive media coverage of this incident. In this respect, it was not surprising that these cries had filtered through to the children's talk at school. As discussed (3.1.3), tensions between Greece and Turkey usually had a negative impact on majority-minority relations in the neighbourhood. These tensions were consistently brought into the school and on this occasion, they were articulated through the use of cries.

On the basis of Table 4.20 (4.5), nonsense cries and nonsense words are employed in crying out, name-calling, joking and language play activities. Nonsense cries and nonsense words are defined as cries and words that do not have any semantic meaning.

Rather, they function 'as a means of fostering group solidarity' (Crystal 1998: 172). The most common nonsense cry that emerged in the 4th grade data was 'atiato' and its variants: 'adiato', 'atato' and 'abiato' (e.g. Transcript 2, line 3, Appendix IV). These nonsense cries were coined by Husein and, even though others used them as a contextualization cues, they was always associated with him (*survey interview* 2, 28/4/99). While other peer group members made up nonsense cries and nonsense words, these uses were not as widespread as the cries coined by Husein.

Nonsense cries and nonsense words have also featured prominently in research on children's talk in school playgrounds. Marsh (2001), in particular, has associated the use of nonsense cries and nonsense words with bilingual children's developing competences in the second language. She claims that their use allows these children to participate in play activities, such as group singing games, with minimal difficulty (: 88) (cf. Gregory 1990). By resorting to nonsense cries and nonsense words, these bilingual children can participate on an equal footing with monolinguals in verbal activities and become accepted by them as competent group members. It is not clear whether Husein's continuous repetition of the nonsense cry 'atiato' and its variants could be seen in this light. What certainly transpires from the data is that Husein was one of the key initiators and participants in a number of verbal activities, including crying out activities. This is collaborated by the fact that he was signalled out as the class tease (see the peer group members' profiles in 3.4.1).

4.5.6 Fragments of poems and speeches

Fragments of poems and speeches were used as contextualization cues in reciting activities (Table 4.20, in 4.5). Peer group members had learned these poems and speeches by heart to recite them on various school-sponsored national celebrations (*field-notes*, 19/3/99). Only Bahrye and Meltem, however, employed fragments of poems and speeches as contextualization cues in playful talk (e.g. Transcript 2, lines 1-2, Appendix IV).

The use of these cues reveals a direct influence of institutional discourses in playful talk. In contrast to all other cues presented (4.5.1- 4.5.5), poems and speeches were the only contextualization cues that were associated with the institutional discourses of the school and the curriculum. All other cues had been brought into the school from sources outside school, most commonly media sources. This finding is not surprising given that the curriculum is seldom linked with play (Blatchford 1998). As a result, it appears that, when pupils use elements from the curriculum for play, they select those elements they can most readily associate with play rather than instruction proper (i.e. poems and speeches).

4.5.7 Terms of verbal abuse

Terms of verbal abuse are employed as contextualization cues in name-calling and teasing activities (Table 4.20, in 4.5). By terms of verbal abuse, this study takes to mean the use of personal insults that the target can either treat as true or as not true and respond accordingly (Eder 1995: 73). Overall, terms of verbal abuse did not emerge often as contextualization cues in playful talk. When they appeared, they were confined to a small

range of personal insults, such as 'χαζό' ('silly') 'χαζούλης' ('little silly one'), 'βλάκας' ('stupid'), 'κοτσαναριό' ('silly').

Research at school, however, attests to the ubiquitous presence of verbal abuse among peer group members (Eder 1995). Indeed, the limited exchange of terms of verbal abuse among peer group members contrasts with its extended use among older pupils (5^{th}- 6^{th} grades) (*field-notes*, 30/3/99). This discrepancy regarding the use of terms of verbal abuse across ages (4^{th}- 6^{th}) could be approached in two ways. On the one hand, it could be age-specific, in that pupils' age has a bearing on the use of terms of verbal abuse: younger children seemed to use such terms less than older children (ibid).

On the other hand, it may be an outcome of the interpersonal rules of conduct that had emerged among 4^{th} graders over four years of sustained daily interactions at school. These rules of conduct were further reinforced by the 4^{th} grade teacher's explicitly negative stance towards verbal abuse (*field-notes*, 5/3/99) as well as the overarching inter-cultural regime of the school that censored such language (3.2.1- 3.2.2). As a result, at an interactional level, these rules of conduct appeared to favour the use of certain cues (e.g. nicknames), but not others (e.g. terms of verbal abuse) in playful talk.

An exception to the norm was the use of insults with racist connotations in predominantly all-male name-calling activities (*field*-notes, 30/3/99). These personal insults were employed by Giannis and to a lesser extent by Husein, Babis and Tuncay and included the following words: 'αράπη' ('nigger') 'αράπη Πακιστάν' ('Pakistani nigger') and 'αραπιδάκια' ('little niggers') (e.g. Transcript 2, lines 9, 12, Appendix IV). The use of insults among male peers has been well documented in the literature (e.g. Kochman 1972.

1983; Leary 1980). The extent to which these insults are treated as ritual or personal in playful talk is investigated in 5.5.3 and 7.1.5. This is explored by probing into who uses these insults as contextualization cues for whom and on what occasion and how these cues are responded to in discourse (cf. Mitchell-Kernan 1972).

4.5.8 Extra-linguistic cues

According to Table 4.20 (4.5), two extra-linguistic contextualization cues emerged in playful talk and were associated with teasing activities: (1) hair pulling and (2) nape-slapping. Hair pulling was exercised by male peer group members and consisted of pulling the hair of female peer group members (e.g. Transcript 3, line 32, Appendix IV). Nape-slapping, on the other hand, was employed by both girls and boys alike and it comprised of singling out and slapping the victim on the nape. The latter cue was referred to as 'δίνω φάπες' ('slapping somebody on the nape') (cf. Opie & Opie 1959: 224-225). Similar 'mock acts of aggression', such as administering light slaps, have been identified as 'kinesic' cues in ritual insulting routines among peers (Leary 1980: 127). Moreover, peer group members engaged extensively in non-verbal activities, such as chasing routines, mock fights and instances of 'playground invasions' [91] (Thorne 1986: 175) to accompany playful talk.

Extra-linguistic cues, like hair pulling and nape-slapping, exploit playful aggression (Miller & Sperry 1987). Overall, peer group members never perceived them as serious physical threats to their safety (*field-notes*, 30/3/99; also Leary 1980). This was reflected in that teachers seldom intervened to sanction them. As in the case of employing

[91] 'Playground invasions' are attempts to disrupt an activity in which members of the opposite sex are involved (Thorne 1986: 175).

nicknames of the opposite sex (4.5.1), the use of these cues to accompany verbal activities, such as teasing, are seen as attempts to explore gender boundaries: such instances of playful aggression allow for border crossings between the sexes, while simultaneously affirming gender boundaries (cf. Thorne 1986; see also 7.1.1).

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I illustrated that the emergence of playful talk in discourse depended on four micro-interactional parameters (setting, participants, task, type of group) and their combinations along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum. This continuum was seen as a macro-interactional category of analysis that was defined as the various institutional (i.e. school- imposed) features that impinge upon participants' talk at school. The analysis demonstrated that because they occurred in the institutional setting of the school, these features permeated all contexts.

Combinations of aforementioned four micro-interactional parameters yielded six contexts where playful talk occurred (Table 4.1, 4.1). The first three contexts were subsumed under the super-ordinate category of institutionally oriented contexts and included: context 1 (whole-group instructional interactions), context 2 (small-group instructional interactions) and context 3 (interactions during lunchtime). The remaining contexts were subsumed under the super-ordinate category of non-institutionally oriented contexts and incorporated: context 4 (task-based interactions during free time in the classroom), context 5 (interactions during free time in the classroom) and context 6 (interactions during free time in the schoolyard). In the analysis, the participant parameter and in

particular the teacher figure emerged as the most important parameter in determining the position of these contexts along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum.

The investigation of the six contexts through the lens of the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum foregrounded the conditions leading to the emergence of playful talk in the 4th grade data. In this context, playful talk was viewed as a super-ordinate category that encompassed the following verbal activities: (1) teasing; (2) name-calling; (3) joking; (4) language play and (5) performance-oriented activities, notably singing, reciting, crying out and role enactments.

Playful talk, therefore, was taken to mean talk during which participants produced the aforementioned activities and it was measured in occurrences per context. On the basis of this definition of playful talk, the analysis supported an inverse relation between playful talk and the position of contexts along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum: contexts towards the institutionality rear of the continuum exhibited middle to low frequency of playful talk. Contexts that were towards the non-institutionality end of the continuum demonstrated high frequency of playful talk.

In this chapter, I presented and discussed the contextualization cues peer group members employed in playful talk. These were: (1) nicknames; (2) one-liners; (3) songs, (4) impersonations and code-switches; (5) cries and nonsense cries; (6) fragments of poems and speeches; (7) terms of verbal abuse and (8) extra-linguistic cues. Through the analysis, it transpired that peer group members drew on cues mainly from the majority (Greek) language and culture. Simultaneously, they employed a limited range of cues from the minority (Turkish) language and culture (e.g. one-liners, cries and code-

switches) and from the foreign (English) language and culture (code-switches). Moreover, it was shown that a number of cues (e.g. nicknames, one-liners, songs, style-shifts) had their origins in youth popular cultures, especially TV and music (cf. Iordanidou & Androutsopoulos 1995; Lytra 2001b; Valiouli & Psaltou-Jocey 1995). On the other hand, cues available via the institutional culture of the school were limited to fragments of poems and speeches. In general, these findings revealed that peer group members employed mixed resources (i.e. resources drawing on the languages and cultures available to them) as cues.

In chapter 5, the thesis investigates the framing of playful talk in non-institutionally oriented contexts (contexts 4, 5 and 6).

Chapter five

Framing playful talk in non-institutionally oriented contexts

5.0 Introduction

In chapter 5, I explore the framing of playful talk in non-institutionally oriented contexts, i.e. contexts that have been positioned towards the non-institutionality end of the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum (cf. 4.2.5). These contexts include: context 4 (task-based interactions during free time in the classroom), context 5 (school yard interactions) and context 6 (classroom interactions during free time) (Figure 4.5, in 4.2.5).

I investigate the framing of playful talk in non-institutionally oriented contexts, by exploring in depth two verbal activities (teasing and name-calling) in peer group interactions. According the Table 4.19 (4.4.6), teasing and name-calling emerged as two out of the three most frequently occurring activities in playful talk. Besides their prominence in discourse, the investigation of these two verbal activities is further justigied by their elicitation of divergent participation frameworks (Table 4.20, in 4.5).

In this context, I provide an overview of the sequential and interactional organisation of name-calling and teasing during free time in terms of contextualization cues and participant positions (5.1). Drawing on relevant literature (e.g. Drew 1987; Tannock 1999; Straehle 1993), I also examine the sequencing rules (5.2- 5.3), participation frameworks (5.4- 5.4.2) and types of responses to these activities (5.5- 5.5.2). In the final

section (5.5), I engage in a comparative discussion of name-calling and teasing across the three non-institutionally oriented contexts (contexts 4, 5, 6).

5.1 Name-calling and teasing activities: an overview

Following Goffman (1981), a 'participation framework' is taken to mean the 'participation status' or participant positions of all those who happen to be in the perceptual range of a spoken event relative to that event (: 3) (cf. 1.3). The analysis of teasing and name-calling activities during free time reveal the following participant positions: (1) *initiator*; (2) *target* or *recipient* (in this thesis these two terms are used interchangeably) and (3) *audience* (cf. Eder 1991; Straehle 1993). Members of the audience can be *co-participants* and take up the participant positions of *co-initiators* or *co-respondants*, or they can have *no participation* (i.e. *overhearers* [92]) or *limited participation* in these activities. Limited participation refers to members of the audience who, through giggling and laughter, avoid taking sides during the development of teasing and name-calling (i.e. they do not align themselves with the initiator or the target) (see 5.4-5.4.2, for a discussion).

On the basis of the aforementioned participant positions, the following basic two-turn discourse structure emerges in the data: initiation- response (cf. Drew 1987). Depending on participant positions, however, the discourse structure becomes more complex. It can incorporate optional co-initiations and co-responses as well as optional other audience responses (e.g. giggling, laughter, silences). Discourse structure is not linear in that, for instance, an initiation is always followed by a response or that reposponses are followed by co-responses. It may be the case that targets do not respond to the name-calling or

[92] I also took up the role of overhearer during many teasing and name-calling activities.

teasing themselves, but that co-respondants answer on their behalf (see Table 5.1a below, also 5.4-5.4.2).

The following Tables (Tables 5.1a-5.1b) present the clusters of contextualization cues used to (co-)initiate and (co-)respond to teasing and name-calling. They also illustrate the participant positions (e.g. initiator, target, co-initiator(s), audience) and the peer group members involved.

Table 5.1a. Teasing activities: contextualization cues, participant positions and peer group members

Discourse structure	Contextualization cues	Participant positions	Peer group members
Initiation	mock challenges, threats, commands, nicknames, terms of verbal abuse, code-switches (Vasia only), laughter	Initiator	Tuncay, Husein, Babis, Giannis, Vasia, Barhye
Optional: co-initiation(s)	mock challenges, threats, commands, nicknames, terms of verbal abuse, laughter	Co-initiator(s)	Vasia, Husein, Tuncay
Response	mock challenges, threats, commands, nicknames, terms of verbal abuse, hair pulling and nape-slapping (Tuncay only), one-liners (Babis only), silence, laughter	Target	Giannis, Babis, Husein, Tuncay, Meltem, Vasia, Nontas
Optional: co-response(s)	mock challenges, threats, commands, nicknames, terms of verbal abuse, laughter	Co-respondant(s)	Husein, Nontas, Maria, Giannis, Babis, Vasia, Bahrye, Fanis, Tuncay
Optional: other responses	laughter, giggling	Audience with limited participation	Bahrye, Maria, Nontas
	silence	Overhearers	Babis, Bahrye, Meltem, Maria, Nontas, Tuncay, Husein, Giannis, Costas, Fanis

Table 5.1a indicates that most contextualization cues have dual roles: participants use them to both (co-)introduce and (co-)respond to teasing activities in discourse (e.g. mock challenges, threats and commands) and trigger play frames. This finding reveals a high degree of flexibility in terms of the cluster of cues peer group members can resort to in teasing to signal and interpret the playful nature of the activity (Eder 1991; Straehle 1993).

As the Table indicates, exceptions to this norm are code-switches, one-liners, hair pulling and nape-slapping, which are used only to respond to a teasing activity. The data analysis shows that these cues are the least frequently used ones in teasing and that their use is restricted to a small set of users: Babis, for instance, is the only peer group member employing one-liners to respond to teases. This implies that, unlike the other cues mentioned (e.g. mock challenges, commands), code-switches, one-liners and so on have not yet become part of what appears to be a shared repertoire of cues for teasing.

The fact that these cues have not been incorporated in the peer group members' repertoire of cues yet makes them more ambiguous. The higher the degree of ambiguity, the more sophisticated metacommunicative skills peer group members need to develop to convey both the content of their message and the message 'this is play' (Bateson 1972). Simultaneously, that peer group members can introduce and experiment with new cues (e.g. code-switches etc.) in teasing demonstrates that the repertoire of cues is not fixed, but under constant construction (cf. Eder 1991).

Table 5.1a demonstrates that initiators also become recipients of teases (e.g. Tuncay, Husein, Giannis, Babis, Vasia). Although there are exceptions (Bahrye who features as the initiator but not as the target), this means that the roles of the initiator and target are often interchangeable (5.4- 5.4.2). On the other hand, co-respondants include peer group members that are neither targets nor recipients of teases (e.g. Costas, Maria, Fanis). Overall, Table 5.1a demonstrates that teasing is a collaborative activity that attracts a large number of participants occupying a variety of participant positions (Eder 1993).

Table 5.1b. Name-calling activities: contextualization cues, participant positions and peer group members

Discourse structure	Contextualization cues	Participant positions	Peer group members
Initiation	nicknames, laughter, fast pace, vowel elongation, shifts in stress, rhythm and rhyme, terms of verbal abuse, repetition	Initiator	Tuncay, Husein, Babis, Giannis
Optional: co-initiation(s)	nicknames, laughter, fast pace, vowel elongation, shifts in stress, rhythm and rhyme, terms of verbal abuse, repetition	Co-initiators	Costas, Tuncay, Husein, Giannis, Babis
Response	nicknames, terms of verbal abuse, nonsense words, fast pace, laughter, vowel elongation, shifts in stress, rhythm and rhyme, repetition, silence	Target	Giannis, Babis, Husein, Tuncay, Meltem, Nontas
Optional: co-response(s)	nicknames, laughter, fast pace, vowel elongation, shifts in stress, rhythm and rhyme, terms of verbal abuse, repetition	Co-respondants	Costas, Nontas, Giannis, Babis, Vasia, Bahrye, Tuncay, Husein
Optional: other responses	laughter, giggling	Audience with limited participation	Bahrye, Vasia, Maria
	silence	Overhearers	Babis, Bahrye, Meltem, Maria,

			Nontas, Tuncay, Husein, Giannis, Costas, Fanis

Similar to teasing, in name-calling activities, the same cues are employed to both initiate and respond to name-calling as well as mark the activity as playful. As Table 5.1b shows, however, name-calling activities exhibit a smaller range of clusters of contextualization cues: participants initiate these activities by mainly resorting to the repetition of nicknames, terms of verbal abuse and nonsense words. In other words, cues for name-calling activities that are available to peer group members tend to be more fixed than those for teasing.

This makes cues for name-calling activities more predictable and points to the establishment of a more routine-oriented repertoire of cues than teasing (cf. Labov 1972; Leary 1980). The predictability of these cues, however, does not guarantee that clusters of cues are consistently understood and interpreted as play. The analysis of name-calling activities (and teasing activities for that matter) demonstrates the dynamic relationship between participants, clusters of cues used and the interpretation of talk as play (5.5-5.5.4).

Table 5.1b also indicates that name-calling activities attract the participation of a smaller number of peer group members: name-calling activities are mainly confined among four boys: Tuncay, Husein, Giannis and Babis, who features as (co-)initiators, targets and co-respondants (Table 5.1b). This suggests the existence of what Radcliffe-Brown (1940) and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1976) refer to as 'joking relationships' among these peer group members (reported in Leary 1980: 125). By 'joking relationships', they mean that

participants share a repertoire of cues that allow them to tease and call each other names without taking offence. This relationship combines both 'friendliness' and 'antagonism' and occurs during 'moments of social licence' (ibid) (see 7.1.2, 7.1.5, for a discussion).

5.2 Initiating name-calling and teasing activities

Name-calling activities are introduced in playful talk in non-institutionally oriented contexts (contexts 4, 5, 6) in two ways: (1) they can emerge in discourse without being anchored onto previous talk and (2) they can be triggered by prior talk. Teasing activities, on the other hand, are always anchored to preceding talk. The data analysis illustrates that name-calling activities, which are not anchored onto prior talk, introduce new play frames in talk. Name-calling activities, which are triggered by previous talk, and teasing activities build upon existing existing play frames in discourse.

5.2.1 The emergence of name-calling

As stated (5.2), name-calling activities can emerge in discourse without being anchored onto prior talk. Occasions that license the emergence of name-calling activities in talk are interactional junctions. These usually occur at transition points durigh which considerable noise and commotion is generated. A transition point, for instance, includes those moments spanning from the end of the break until the beginning of the lesson, which are punctuated by the entrance of the teacher in the classroom. During those moments, pupils enter the classroom, take their seats and slowly start to prepare for the lesson. The name-calling activity in excerpt 1 below occurs during one such transition point.

Excerpt 1 (context 5, 17/3/99; For the complete Transcript, see Transcript 1, Appendix IV)

	((πολλες φωνές))
	((background noise))
1Χουσείν	*f acc* Κόλλια Κόλλια
1Husein	**Kollia Kollia**
	((πολλες φωνές))
	((background noise))
2Γιάννης	((στη Βάλλη)) κυρία .. *acc* κοίτα κοίτα κα::λό: ε:::;
2Giannis	**((to Vally)) Ms look look that's a good one right?**
	((πολλές φωνές))
	((background noise))
3Χουσείν	έλα . *f* Κόλλια Κόλλια *acc* Κόλλια Κόλλια .
3Husein	**come Kollia Kollia Kollia Kollia**
4	έλα . *f* Κόλλια Κόλλια *acc* Κόλλια [Κόλλια
4	**come Kollia Kollia Kollia [Kollia**
5Νώντας	[*acc* Κόλλια Κόλλια=
5Nontas	**[Kollia Kollia=**
6Τουτζάι	=*f* εγώ λιέω
6Tuncay	**=I say**

Husein, the initiator of the name-calling activity, attempts twice to introduce the name-calling activity in discourse (lines 1, 3-4). To this end, he uses prosody (he increases the volume of his voice and accelerates the delivery of his turn) to mark off the name-calling activity from the surrounding talk and exploits the following cluster of cues: he repeats Giannis' surname/nickname, emphatically stresses its first syllable ('Κόλλια', 'Kollia') and manipulates rhythm and pace, alternating between faster and slower pace (lines 1, 3-4). By exploiting this cluster of cues, Husein signals to both Giannis (the target of the name-calling) and the others present (who can take up the role of co-participants) that a name-calling activity has just been introduced in discourse and a play frame is about to be constructed.

The emergence of name-calling activities, which are not anchored onto previous talk in such interactional junctions, could be interpreted through the lens of the concept of 'liminality' (Turner 1974). Interactional junctions generate 'liminal' moments, that is

moments outside normal social structures, during which individuals pass from one social status to another (: 58). The end of the break (just before the beginning of the lesson) constitutes such a liminal period between 'leisure' (break time proper) and 'work' (the lesson). As a result, these in-between periods give rise to considerable noise and commotion, which in turn can trigger name-calling activities that need not be anchored onto prior talk.

Name-calling activities during free time are also triggered in discourse by prior talk, which is often another type of verbal activity (e.g. singing, crying out, reciting or teasing). In excerpt 2, for instance, Husein's crying out activity (line 3) triggers the introduction of a name-calling activity (line 4).

Excerpt 2 (context 5, 13/3/99; For the complete Transcript, see Transcript 2, Appendix IV)

1Μελτέμ	*f* γλυκοχαράζει η χαραυγή . λάμπουν ο ουρανός και η γη.
1Meltem	**a new day is breaking the sky and the earth are shining**
2	λάμπουν και βροντούν ταηδόνια και γλυκολαλούν ταηδόνια=
2	**the nightingales are shining and the nightingales are singing=**
3Χουσείν	=*ff* αμπιατό:::=
3Husein	**= abiato=**
4Γιάννης	=*p* ο Χουσείν είναι τού:ρμπο
4Giannis	**= Husein is dumb**
5Μπαχριέ	ο Γιάννης είναι- . (h)να-(hh)νάι hh=
5Bahrye	**Giannis is nanai [93]=**

In excerpt 2, Giannis' name-calling is triggered by Husein's nonsense cry 'αμπιατό' ('abiato', line 3). Giannis introduces the name-calling activity, by latching onto Husein's turn (line 3) and making use of the term of verbal abuse 'τούρμπο' ('dumb'), accompanied by vowel elongation and stress. He marks off the name-calling activity

[93] 'Nanai' here could refer to the refrain of a song that goes 'i nananai i naninanai'. As there is no video recording of the interaction, however, it is not possible to say if this word was accompanied by specific gestures that could aid in interpreting its meaning or why it was used in the name-calling activity.

from the preceding talk by a shift in volume: he produces his turn in low volume, which contrasts with the loud and declamatory delivery of the previous turns (lines 1-3) (cf. excerpt 1, lines 1, 3-4, in this section).

As far as the use of contextualization cues are concerned, name-calling, which is not anchored onto previous talk, is usually triggered by simple forms of repetition, such as the rhythmic repetition of the target's nickname (e.g. 'Κόλλια Κόλλια Κόλλια', 'Kollia Kollia Kollia' or 'Μπεμπιλίνο Μπεμπιλίνο Μπεμπιλίνο', 'Bebilino Bebilino Bebilino'). In name-calling activities, which are anchored to previous talk, peer group members exploit additional forms of repetition as contextualization cues, such as the use of 'syntactic repetition with minimal semantic shifts' (Tannock 1999: 329). This can take the form of 'x' (the target) is 'y' (term of verbal abuse) (e.g. 'ο Χουσείν είναι τούρμπο' (Husein is dumb), line 4, in excerpt 2 above). As a result, the use of different forms of repetition as contextualization cues in name-calling enhances the predictability of these activities, but also allows for possible variation (e.g. the term of verbal abuse 'y' in 'x' is 'y' may vary, see lines 4-5 in excerpt 2 above) (cf. Norrick 1994).

5.2.2 Introducing teasing activities

Teasing activities in non-institutionally oriented contexts are consistently anchored onto preceding talk. In his study on sequencing and teasing, Drew (1987) identifies the following properties that determine the way teasing is initiated in discourse:

> (i) teases are not topic-initial utterances, (ii) they are all in some way a second, or a next, or a response to a prior turn, and (iii) that the prior turn is spoken by the person who is subsequently teased in multi-party as well as two-party talk (: 233).

The investigation of teasing activities in non-institutionally oriented contexts confirms to a large extent the aforementioned properties: overwhelmingly teasing activities are anchored onto preceding talk. Teases are a next or a response to that talk and the target for teasing is usually the person who uttered the prior turn [94]. For instance, in excerpt 3, Tuncay initiates a teasing activity (line 2), triggered by Vasia's previous turn (line 1).

Excerpt 3 (context 4, 18/3/99; For the complete Transcript, see Transcript 4, Appendix IV)

1Τουτζάι	τις προτάσεις ((στα Αγγλικά)) δεν έκανες;
1Tuncay	**you haven't done the sentences ((in English))?**
2( )	ω- . ω- . ω-
2( )	**o o o**
3Βάσια	*f* ((τραγουδά στο μικρόφωνο)) η καρδιά:: μου χτυπά::=
3Vasia	**((sings in the mic)) my heart is throbbing=**
4Τουτζάι	= *acc* άντε φύγε . Βασιλόπιττα 999 .. ..
4Tuncay	**=go away Vasipolita 999**
5Γιάννης	για να δούμε ρε Νώντα ((τί έχεις κάνει))
5Giannis	**let's have a look ((re)) Nonta**

In this excerpt, sequentially, Tuncay's tease (line 4) is triggered by Vasia's singing (line 3) and is a next to her turn. He introduces the teasing activity by latching onto her turn and resorting to the following cluster of contextualization cues: Tuncay makes use of a mock command 'άντε φύγε' ('go away'), followed by Vasia's nickname 'Βασιλόπιττα 999' ('Vasipolita 999'). He marks off his teasing from the preceding talk, by delivering his turn in fast pace (cf. excerpt 1, lines 1, 3-4, in 5.2.1).

The use of such clusters of cues signals to the target the playful nature of the interaction and contributes to the existing play frame. Peer group members need to employ linguistic and extra-linguistic cues to convey that their teasing should be interpreted as play and not otherwise (Bateson 1972). These cues are supplemented by the existence of what appears

[94] See, however, Transcript 7, line 9, for an example of a different nature. Here the target for teasing is not the person who uttered the prior turn, but the one before.

to be a repertoire of cues for teasing (cf. 5.1), the high frequency of teasing in playful talk (see Table 4.19, in 4.4.6) along with the fact that it occurs among peers. In other words, the repetitive nature of teasing and the participants it elicits function as additional cues, which further reinforce the playfulness of this activity (cf. Eder 1991).

As argued (4.4.1), the necessity to enhance the playfulness of teasing activities stems from the ambiguity of teasing and its context-dependency. Unlike name-calling that is introduced in discourse by more predictable contextualization cues (e.g. the rhythmic repetition of the target's nickname), teasing does not make use of such cues. The absence of more predictable cues requires that peer group members engage in additional interactional work: they need to provide multiple cues in their talk in order to mark the onset of a new play frame or sustain an existing one (cf. Eisenberg 1986).

For instance, in excerpt 3 above, Tuncay resorts to a mock command followed by the recipient's nickname to initiate the teasing activity (line 2). In similar vein to excerpt 4, in excerpt 5 below, Bahrye introduces her tease by making use of a mock challenge (her assessment of Babis poor academic performance) coupled with the playful rendition of the target's nickname ('Bebinino' instead of 'Babylino', line 18).

Excerpt 4 (context 4, 15/3/99; For the complete Transcript, see Transcript 5 Appendix IV)

16Βάσια	'α- α- α- ..	[τι;::
16Vasia	**a a a**	**[wha:::t?**
17Μπαχριέ	((γράφει στον πίνακα))	[ε::μείς .. ε::σείς .. αυ:τοί ..
17Bahrye	**((she writes on the blackboard))**	**[we you they**
18	[αχ- ρε- .	[τίποτα δε ξέρεις ρε Μπαμπινίνο ..
18	**[uh (re)**	**[you don't know anything (re) Babinino**
20Βάσια	[και κανένα	[τόνο βέβαια
20Vasia	**[and no**	**[stress of course**

Overall, initiators resort to multiple cues to open (e.g. excerpt 3, in this section) or re-introduce (e.g. excerpt 4 above) a teasing activity in discourse and sign the playful nature of their teases. As shown (excerpts 3-4), mock commands and mock challenges are further reinforced by references to the recipients' nicknames. Because nicknames are linked to a shared past interactional history among peer group members (4.5.1), they allude to closeness and intimacy. As a result, they readily function as supplementary cues in order to highlight the playfulness of the teasing.

5.3 Developing name-calling and teasing: sequencing rules

The data analysis reveals the existence of sequencing rules that govern the development of name-calling and teasing activities in non-institutionally oriented contexts. Drawing on findings from the literature on other agonistic discursive phenomena, notably verbal duelling and ritual insulting (Labov 1972; Kochman 1983), this section demonstrates the extent to which the data under study share similarities with, but also depart from this line of research.

Sequencing rules of ritual insulting and verbal duelling reported in the literature illustrate an adherence to strict adjacency rules. For example, in the case of sounding between African-American youths, one sound must be immediately followed by another sound. If one of the two antagonists does not respond to the previous sound, then the sounding activity is terminated and the antagonist, who addressed the sounding activity last, is proclaimed the winner (Labov 1972: 128-31; also Abrahams 1974; Kochman 1983). Similar to sounding, in verbal duelling among Turkish boys, a rhymed insult must be

followed instantly by another rhymed insult and if one of the antagonists fails to provide a retort, then he has lost the dual (Dundes, Leach and Özkök 1972: 135-6).

The investigation of sequencing rules in discourse is not only confined to how one turn succeeds the next, but also how each turn is constructed. In his study on sounding, Labov (1972) argues that:

> sequencing involves the substance of sounds which succeed each other -how one sound is build on another, and how a series of sounds are brought to a conclusion. Above all, we are concerned with the standards of excellence in sounding -what makes one person a better sounder than another, and how the group evaluates the performance of an individual (: 160).

The sequencing rules of teasing and name-calling in the data collaborate to some extent the rules that have been identified in sounding and verbal duelling research. The data analysis illustrates that a turn x can be immediately answered by a turn y, which can be followed by turn z (e.g. Table 5.2 below) (the name-calling activity presented below is located in Transcript 3, lines 4-10, Appendix IV).

Table 5.2. Sequencing rules

Turns (participants)	*Name-calling activity*
Turn 1 (Giannis) ----------→	ο Χουσείν είναι τούρμπο (Husein is dumb)
Turn 2 (Bahrye) ----------→	ο Γιάννης είναι νανάι (Giannis is nanai)
Turn 3 (Husein) ----------→	ο Γιάννης είναι Κόλλια Κόλλια Κόλλια Κόλλια (Giannis is Kollia Kollia Kollia Kollia)
Turn 4(multiple participants) -----→	Κόλλια Γιάννη Κόλλια Γιάννη (Kollia Gianni Kollia Gianni)
Turn 5(Husein) ----------→	Κόλλια Γιάννη Γιάννη (Kollia Gianni Gianni)

Turn 6(Giannis) ----------→ αράπη Χουσείν
(nigger Husein)

Turn 7(Husein) ----------→ hhhh hhh
(hhhh hhh)

Despite sharing to some extent sequencing rules with verbal duelling and ritual insulting, sequencing rules for teasing and name-calling in the data also depart from those rules. One major point of departure is that name-calling and teasing is not confined to two antagonists only who are trying to outperform each other in game fashion. Instead, more than two participants can participate in these encounters, as any peer group member can take up the position of co-respondant and answer on behalf of the target of the activity (see 5.4- 5.4.2).

Another important point of departure has to do with the contextualization cues group members employ to produce and maintain name-calling and teasing activities and frame talk as play. Unlike verbal duelling and ritual insulting (see Dundes, Leach & Özkök 1972; Labov 1972), the cues peer group members use are not part of a pre-established set of cues which they have memorised and learnt to reproduce on the spot. Although peer group members share what appears to be a repertoire of cues for name-calling and teasing (Tables 5.1a-5.1b, in 5.1), they can also manipulate these cues in creative ways or introduce new cues in discourse.

For instance, instead of repeating each other's nicknames, the initiator and target can construct a name-calling activity, by resorting to creative allusions to each other's nickname (e.g. lines 5-6, in excerpt 5 below).

Excerpt 5 (context 4, 18/3/990; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 3, Appendix IV)

5Χουσείν	=*acc* Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι ..
5Husein	**=Bronze Moon**
6Τουτζάι	α- *acc* Κασσέττες . Κασσέτες πουλάει αυτός .
6Tuncay	**a- Cassettes he sells Cassettes**
7Γιάννης	ο Χουσεί::ν=
7Giannis	**Husein=**
8Χουσείν	= *acc* έχει Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι σήμερα ..
8Husein	**= there is a Bronze Moon tonight**

In excerpt 5, Tuncay responds to Husein's reference to his nickname 'Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι' ('Bronze Moon'), by firing back 'κασσέττες πουλάει αυτός' ('he sells tapes', thereby alluding to the profession of Husein's father, cf. 4.5.1) (line 5). Husein counter-attacks by producing a playfully poetic phrase 'έχει Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι σήμερα' ('there is a Bronze Moon tonight', therebt referring to the literal translation of Tuncay's name in Greek, cf. 4.5.1) (line 6).

Examples as the one presented above demonstrates that even though peer group members do not rely on a pre-established set of cues (as in verbal duelling, for instance), they still need to have a shared set of assumptions and associations to help them understand the meaning of cues and interpret them playfully (cf. Boxer & Cortés-Conde 1997). As argued (4.5-4.5.8), these shared assumptions and associations draw on aspects of the peer group members' characteristics, traits, life histories and experiences (e.g. their parents' occupation or the translation of one's name in Greek, excerpt 5 above, lines 5-6 above). Simultaneously, the verbal activities, where these cues are used, provide the arena for the construction and constant renewal of shared assumptions and associations among peer group members.

As a result, peer group members need to be skilful enough to manipulate their cues (novel and more conventional ones) in ways that are immediately recognisable as meaningful and playful, both by the antagonists and the audience. In fact, for outsiders to the peer group, who are not sharing these assumptions and associations, the content and message of cues can be opaque. As Boxer & Cortés-Conde (1997) have claimed, shared assumptions and associations can serve to create 'a special in-group terminology that bonds the participants and unites them against the 'others' ' (: 281). The 'others', for instance, can take the form of the researcher or other adults at school, such as teachers (see 7.2.1, 7.3).

The departure from more conventional cues for name-calling and teasing and the experimentation with new cues reveals both verbal skill and the ability to set novel trends (cf. Goodwin 1990). It is not surprising, for instance, that Husein and Tuncay are responsible for introducing new cues in name-calling. As excerpt 5 above (lines 5-6) illustrates, both peer group members actively engage in this activity as (co-)initiators, targets and co-respondants. This finding points to a link between setting up new trends in teasing and name-calling and actively participating in these activities and negotiating leadership roles (see 7.1.2, for a discussion).

Therefore, the sequencing rules of name-calling and teasing in the data are more flexible and less formulaic in terms of participant positions and cues than those identified in other agonistic discursive phenomena, such as verbal duelling and ritual insulting. This finding is collaborated by recent research on teasing and insulting (Eder 1990, 1991, 1993; Tannock 1999) which has shown that these activities are less stylised than those

investigated by Labov (1972) and Dundes, Leach & Özkök (1972). This line of research strongly suggests that ritual insulting and verbal duelling may not, in fact, be totally distinct from other forms of less stylised talk, as it had been originally claimed (Goodwin 1990). The blurring of boundaries between more and less stylised forms of talk is collaborated by the fact that both forms of talk share a range of features, such as similar contextualization cues. In this respect, the concepts of ritual insulting and verbal duelling seem to have become less useful in comprehending, analysing and interpreting teasing and name-calling as identified in the data (cf. Tannock 1999).

5.4 Participation frameworks

As stated (5.1), depending on the participant positions that peer group members take up, teasing and name-calling can vary in length. The norm is that name-calling activities are longer than teasing activities. This is attributed to the fact that name-calling activities are more readily reintroduced in discourse, especially since they are not necessarily anchored onto previous talk. Initiators of name-calling activities, for instance, may attempt to reintroduce the same name-calling activity in talk more than once, before they successfully elicit the participation of the target and/or that of other co-participants.

In teasing activities, however, once initiators fail to elicit a response (either by the target or by other co-participants), teasing is fleeting, which means that it is quickly terminated. In other words, as a rule, initiators of teasing activities avoid reintroducing the teasing in discourse in the next turn(s). These differences in participant moves between name-calling and teasing activities strongly suggest that the former are more routine-oriented than the latter (cf. 5.2.1- 5.2.2. for similar findings regarding contextualization cues).

In the following sections (5.4- 5.4.2), the sequencing rules for name-calling and teasing activities are further explored. They are examined in terms of the different participant positions that are available to peer group members, notably those of the (co-)initiator(s), the target, co-respondant(s) and the audience with limited participation. Based on these participant positions, the following participation frameworks have been identitied: (1) *two-party participation* (initiator- target) with no audience or limited audience participation and (2) *multi-party participation* ((co-)initiator(s)- target(s)- co-respondants).

5.4.1 Two-party participation

Name-calling and teasing activities can be strictly confined to two parties only with no audience participation (e.g. Transcript 4, lines 3-4, Appendix IV) or they can trigger limited audience participation. On these occasions, the role of the audience is usually restricted to demonstrating involvement through giggling and laughter (cf. verbal duelling and ritual insulting).

For instance, in the following example (context 6, 17/3/99; for a full Transcript, see Transcript 6, Appendix IV), Tuncay and Nontas engage in a name-calling activity in the schoolyard, during the break, while Bahrye is present, tape-recording the exchange. The name-calling activity is based on the lexical repetition of nicknames: Tuncay makes references to Nontas' nickname 'Μπαμπάκι' ('Babaki' i.e cotton) and its phonetic variant

'Βαμβάκι' ('Vamvaki') (lines 4, 8, 11, 14) [95] and Nontas exploits references to Tuncay's nickname 'Τούτζα Μούτζα' ('Tundza Munza') (lines 6, 9, 16).

Table 5.3 below shows the two-party participation framework that is generated in this activity.

Table 5.3. Two-party participation

Turns (participant) name-calling activity	*Target for name-calling*
Turn 1 (Tuncay) Μπαμπάκι **Babaki**	----------→ Nontas
Turn 3 (Nontas) Τούτζα Μούτζα **Tudza Mudza**	----------→ Tuncay
Turn 5 (Tuncay) Βαμβάκι **Vamvaki**	----------→ Nontas
Turn 6 (Nontas) Τούτζα Μούτζα **Tudza Mudza**	----------→ Tuncay
Turn 8 (Tuncay) Βαμβάκι **Vamvaki**	----------→ Nontas
Turn 11 (Tuncay) Μπαμπάκι **Babaki**	----------→ Nontas
Turn 13 (Nontas) Τούτζα Μούτζα **Tudza Mudza**	----------→ Tuncay

Table 5.3 illustrates that the name-calling activity presented above is confined to two antagonists (Tuncay and Nontas), who alternate in the position of the target. To signal their mutual engagement in the activity, the two antagonists do not focus so much on the content of the cues they use (they both employ each other's nicknames), but on the mode

[95] Note that both words 'βαμβάκι' and 'μπαμπάκι' mean 'cotton'. The first is considered more gentrified, while the second is regarded as its more common variant (cf. Kazazis 1992).

of delivery (pace, volume and laughter) of their contributions. As a result, the mode of delivery sets the playful, yet competitive tone of the name-calling, as one turn quickly succeeds the next, thereby aiding in maintaining the play frame (cf. Lytra [forthcoming]).

As far as the role of the audience is concerned, while not contributing actively in the name-calling as a co-participant, she plays an important role in sustaining the activity, by interspersing it with giggling and laughter. In other words, the use of giggling and laughter signals the audience's involvement and continuous support of the activity under way and her indirect contribution to the construction of the play frame. The role of the audience in this activity is further enhanced, because she is also responsible for triggers the activity in question: she urges the initiatior (Tuncay) to say something in the microphone (line 1). As illustrated, the initiator's initial crying out activity (line 2) paves the way for the emergence of name-calling (line 4), thereby sustaining and developing futher the existing play frame.

5.4.2 Multi-party participation

Multi-party participation in teasing and name-calling is the norm: opening up participation for co-initiators and co-respondants to make bids for the interactional floor is prevalent in the data, particularly in name-calling activities. This finding diverges from research on verbal duelling and ritual insulting. On this issue, Labov (1972) discusses the case of 'group sounding', described as a mass attack on one of the two antagonists by members of the audience (: 152). He considers group sounding as a break in the sequential rules of sounding and argues that such breaks can have interactional consequences for the activity. Mass attacks on one of the two antagonists may produce

angry responses by the target or may cause confusion as to who is saying what to whom, thereby leading to a breakdown of the activity (ibid) (cf. Kochman 1983; Abrahams 1974).

Instead of breaking down teasing and name-calling, opening up participation contributes to co-constructing these activities and maintaining the play frame. Co-participants have free-for-all participation rights in these activities, which means that they can take part in their development at any point in the interaction. This gives rise to the following main interactional options:

(1) A participant may self-select to become a co-initiator or co-respondant and collaboratively tease the same target. This means that participants can function as conversational duets against a common target (cf. Maybin 1994).

(2) A participant may self-select to become a co-respondant and answer the teasing or name-calling on behalf of the recipient, thereby shifting the target of the activity. This implies that targets are not fixed, but under negotiation (contra two-party participation 5.4.1; see ensuing discussion).

In the remaining section, an example from the data is examined in detail, in order to illustrate the above-mentioned interactional options co-participants have at their disposal. In Transcript 7 (context 4, 18/3/99; for a complete Transcript, see Appendix IV), four interactants (Maria, Vasia, Tuncay and Meltem) co-construct two teasing activities. In the first teasing activity (lines 1-4) Maria and Vasia team up to tease Nondas, while in the second one (lines 5- 12), Vasia collaborates with Meltem to tease Tuncay.

Table 5.4 demonstrates the multi-party participation frameworks that are produced in the two teasing activities presented below.

Table 5.4. Multi-party participation

Turns (participant) teasing activity	*Targets for teasing*
<u>Teasing activity 1:</u>	
Turn 2 (Maria) τί θες ρε Νώντα εσύ τώρα; **what do you want now Nontas?**	----------→ Nontas
Turn 3 (Vasia) τί θες ρε Νώντα; θέλεις τίποτα; **what do you want now Nontas?** **you want something?**	----------→ Nontas
Turn 4 (Tuncay) σκάσε ρε Βάσια **shut up (re) Vasia**	----------→ Vasia
<u>Teasing activity 2:</u>	
Turn 8 (Tuncay) άντε ρε *Cumbul* **come off with it (re) Cumbul**	----------→ Meltem
Turn 9 (Meltem) άσε μας ρε Τούτζα Μούτζα Μούτζα Μούτζα **leave us alone (re) Tudza Mudza Mudza Mudza**	----------→ Tuncay
Turn 11 (Vasia) μπεμ σουλέ μπεμί σουλέ **bem sule bemi sule**	----------→ Tuncay

As Table 5.4 illustrates, in the first teasing activity (lines 1-4), Nontas' threat to tell on his classmates, because they are noisy, triggers Maria's mock challenge 'τί θες ρε Νώντα εσύ τώρα;' ('what do you want now (re) Nontas?') (line 2). Her mock challenge introduces the teasing activity in discourse. In the next turn, Vasia makes a bid for the

interactional floor as a co-initiator and sustains the teasing with Nontas as its target. Vasia reinforces Maria's teasing by making use of lexical repetition and recycling her position. She intersperses her mock challenge with laughter, thereby lightening up her tease (line 3) (cf. Norrick 1994). Instead of Nontas making a bid to respond to the successive teasing (lines 2-3), it is Tuncay who takes up the position of co-respondant and retaliates on his behalf: he responds to the tease by issuing another tease in the form of a mock order 'σκάσε ρε Βάσια' ('shut up (re) Vasia').

In the subsequent turns (lines 5-8), the teasing activity is brought to a close, as Nontas tries to initiate a topic change (lines 5-6). In line 8, Meltem's contribution triggers the second teasing activity in discourse (line 10). Tuncay re-introduces the teasing, by issuing a mock challenge to Meltem coupled with a reference to her nickname 'άντε ρε Cumbul' ('come off with it (re) Cumbul') (line 9). In the following turn, Meltem latches onto Tuncay's talk and issues a counter-tease: she repeats the previous tease followed by Tuncay's nickname: 'άσε μας ρε Τούτζα Μούτζα Μούτζα Μούτζα:' ('leave us alone (re) Mudza Mudza Muzda') (line 10).

In response to Meltem's teasing, Tuncay makes a code-switch to Turkish that marks a clear shift away from the teasing activity. In the following turn, however, Vasia makes a bid for the floor, by taking up the position of co-respondant in order to sustain the play frame. She does so, by imitating twice Tuncay's previous utterance (line 12): in her first attempt, she clearly imitates Tuncay's rising intonation, stresses the personal pronoun 'ben' ('I') (as Tuncay had done) and exaggerates the elongated [e] in 'be:n', which she

conflates with the Turkish interrogative particle 'mi'. In her second attempt, she reverts to a flat intonation contour and hellenises her utterance.

While self-selecting to participate in teasing and name-calling is the norm, initiators occasionally call in co-participants to take part in these activities. Such direct solicitations invariably attract co-participants to teasing and name-calling and aid in enhancing the existing participation frameworks, by transforming two-party participation to multi-party participation. For instance, in excerpt 6 below, Vasia introduces a teasing activity in talk ('αχ θα τον σκοτώσω', 'uh I'm going to kill him', line 6) in response to a gross spelling mistake in Babis' homework (cf. Hirshon 1992). In the subsequent turns, she repeats her mock threat, while simultaneously inviting Bahrye to join her and see for herself Babis' spelling mistakes: 'αχ αχ Μπαχριέ θα τον σκοτώσω αχ αχ έλα να δεις πώς έχει γράψει το εμείς ' ('uh uh Bahrye I'm going to kill him ((Babis)) uh uh come and see how he spelled we') (lines 8-9).

Excerpt 6 (context 4, 15/3/99; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 5, Appendix IV)

6 Βάσια	*f* εμείς . EMEI::::Σ; .. *acc* αχ- θα τον σκοτώσω αχ-=
6Vasia	**we we[96] ? ah- I'm going to kill him ah-=**
7Μπάμπης	=*p acc* ((διαβάζει ό,τι έχει γράψει)) εγώ εσύ εμείς ..
7Babis	**=((he reads what he has written)) I you we ..**
8Βάσια	αχ- αχ- *f* Μπαριέ θα το σκοτώσω .. αχ- αχ- .. ..
8Vasia	**uh uh Barhye I'm going to kill him uh uh**
9	*acc* έλα να δεις πως έχει γραψει το 'εμείς' .. .
9	**come and see how he spelled 'we'**

As the following turns illustrate, Bahrye obliges and the two girls tease, assess and correct Babis' spelling mistakes (lines 10-22, see full transcript). As a result, due to

[96] Babis had misspelled the 1st person plural personal pronoun 'εμείς' ('emeis'). Instead of [emeis], had written [emis].

Vasia's soliciation, participation opens up to include a third party (Bahrye), who takes up the role of the co-respondant.

Occasionally more than one participant (e.g. a co-initiator, the target and any of the co-respondent(s)) can self-select and simultaneously take part in name-calling activities. By overlapping with one another, participants join forces against a common target. Such overlaps, however, are frequently limited to a one turn only, which strongly suggests that overlapping speech in name-calling is not a preferred option. In other words, overwhelmingly participants make individual rather than collective bids for the interactional floor.

When overlapping speech does occur, it is usually triggered by specific contextualization cues, notably the rhythmic repetition of the target's nickname (usually Giannis and Babis's nicknames, 'Kollia' and 'Bebilino' respectively). Because they lend themselves well to rhythmic repetition, the use of these nicknames ('Kollia' and 'Babilino') aid in further sustaining occasions of overlapping speech in name-calling activities.

For instance, in exceprt 7 below, Husein initiates and maintains the rhythmic repetition of Giannis' surname/nickname (lines 7-9) to respond to the latter's name-calling (line 4). The rhythmic repetition of Giannis' surname/nickname instigates the brief participation of unidentified peer group members, who join in and act as co-respondants (one turn only, line 7).

Excerpt 7 (context 5, 15/3/99; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 2, Appendix IV)

6Χουσείν	=*f* ο Γιάννης είναι *acc* (h)Κό(h)λλια (h)Κό(hh)λλια . Κόλλια Κόλλια
6Husein	**= Giannis is Kollia Kollia Kollia Kollia**
7	((συμμετέχουν και άλλοι)) *f* Κό::λλια Γιά::ννη:: Κό::λλια Γιά::ννη::
7	**((others join in)) Kollia Gianni Kollia Gianni=**
8	((μόνο ο Χουσείν)) *f* Κό::λλια Γιά::ννη (h)Γιάνν(hh)ιη::=
8	**((only Husein) Kollia Gianni Gianni**

The fact that participants use a limited cluster of cues in instances of overlapping speech in name-calling activities strongly suggests that these cues have become normalised. This means that they are not seen as a mass attack against a common target. As a result, they do not terminate these activities, but rather further sustain them (contra Labov 1972).

As far as the targets of name-calling and teasing are concerned, as stated earlier in this section, they are not fixed, but are constant under negotiation. Participants have two options available to trigger a shift in target:

(1) The target self-selects and introduces a new target in the discourse.

(2) A co-respondant answers the teasing or name-calling on behalf of the recipient, thereby shifting the target either to the (co-)initiator(s) or to a third party.

While negotiating the target for teasing and name-calling is the norm, there can be exceptions to the rule: there are occasions when the target remains constant throughout the activity. This is the case with Tuncay, for instance, in Transcript 6 (Appendix IV). One possible explanation for the break of the norm is the close association between Tuncay's nickname 'Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι' ('Bronze Moon') and the refrain of a popular,

at the time of the fieldwork, song called 'Ψίθυροι Καρδιάς' ('Whispers of the Heart') [97]. The teases were built by substituting the opening words of the refrain 'καράβι το φεγγάρι' ('karavi to fegari', 'the moon like a boat') with Tuncay' nickname 'Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι' ('Broudzino Fegari', 'Bronze Moon').

The substitution was extremely successful not only due to the lexical repetition of the word 'φεγγάρι' ('fegari', i.e. 'moon') in Tuncay's nickname, but also because it did not interfere with the romantic theme of the original song: a declaration of love. Moreover, substitution lent itself to the incorporation of the original sound track in the teasing. As a result, because of the immense popularity of the love drama in question, peer group members were familiar with the song and its music (*field-notes*, 17/3/99). High degree of familiarity with the song and its music opened up access to teasing, thereby eliciting multi-party participation.

Overall, such exceptions to the rule clearly indicate that for a re-negotiation of the target to take place the recipient needs to elicit the support of other co-participants, who are willing to shift the target to somebody else. While participants may offer their unsolicited support to the party being teased (e.g. Tuncay's response to teasing on Nontas' behalf, Transcript 7, line 4), there is no guarantee that this will always be the case. To maximise the possibility of a re-negotiation of the target, recipients needs to engage in some interactional work, such as to initiate a shift of the target themselves (e.g. Husein's effort to divert the target of name-calling to Meltem, in Transcript 2, line 15).

---

[97] The music for this song was written by Christos Nikolopoulos and it was sung by Dimitris Bassis. This song was played during the closing credits of the love drama 'Ψίθυροι Καρδιάς' ('Whispers of the Heart'). The refrain of the song went 'καράβι το φεγγάρι στο σώμα κύλησε, για άνομα πελάγη κρυφά μας μίλησε' ('Karavi to fegari sto soma kilise, gia anoma pelagi krifa mas milise' 'The moon like a boat sliding on the body whispers to us about sinful seas') (see also 4.5.3)

5.5 Interactional options as responses to name-calling and teasing

Drawing on Kochman (1983), this thesis probes into both the targets and the co-participants' uptakes, to define whether these activities are taken to be playful or serious (: 332- 333) [98]. In other words, it is the responses of targets and co-participants to the name-calling and teasing that determines whether a play frame is sustained or whether an activity is redefined as serious and the play frame is brought to a close. Once recipients and co-participants decide that they no longer wish to maintain the play frame, normal conditions of accountability, which have been relaxed during the construction of the play frame, are re-established (ibid). This line of argument implies that the identification of the boundaries between play and non-play is determined by the targets and co-participants' responses (cf. Eder 1991; Tannock 1999).

The examination of the data illustrates that participants have a number of interactional options at their disposal to respond to the name-calling and teasing and either maintain or bring the play frame to an end. These are:

(1) Responding playfully to name-calling and teasing;

(2) Keeping silent;

(3) Testing the boundaries of name-calling and teasing and

(4) Calling an adult third party to intervene (cf. Drew 1987; Eisenberg 1986; Miller 1986).

[98] Note that on his study on sounding among African-American youth, Kochman (1983) focuses exclusively on the recipient responses to sounding. In this study, responses have been extended to include both targets and other co-participants' uptakes.

The analysis of the data indicates that these types of responses are not mutually exclusive in a given occurrence of playful talk. This means that both targets and co-participants can exploit any combination of responses to address a name-calling or teasing activity. Overwhelmingly, targets and co-participants favour option (1) (responding playfully to name-calling and teasing). The second most common option is option (2) (keeping silent), which is employed mainly by targets. The remaining two options (3-4) (testing the boundaries of name-calling and teasing and calling a third adult party to intervene) are also primarily reserved for targets, but are less favoured options than options 1-2.

By virtue of these preferences, it appears that usually targets and co-participants treat name-calling and teasing as playful and maintain the development of play frames. This, however, does not imply that participant responses are predictable. Instead, the data analysis points to the turn-by-turn, emergent quality of teasing and name-calling.

In addition, the data do not reveal a correlation between particular interactional options and specific peer group members [99], nor do they point to gender-specific responses, wth the exception of option (4) (calling an adult third party to intervene), which is employed by girls more frequently. The higher frequency of this option by girls does not mean that they are confined to using this option only and that they are less skilful than their male peers in making use of the other responses to teasing and name-calling as well (Eder 1991; Goodwin 1990; Tholander 2002; see also 5.5.1- 5.5.4).

[99] As discussed (5.1), however, participation in name-calling activities is mainly confined to a group of boys: Husein, Tuncay, Giannis and Babis.

5.5.1 Playing along with name-calling and teasing

As stated (5.5), responding playfully to name-calling and teasing is the most preferred option (cf. Antonopoulou & Sifianou [forthcoming] on humour in Greek telephone exchanges) [100]. Overall, teasing and name-calling activities do not elicit angry responses and only seldom are they taken as personal affronts by the target (see also 5.5.3). That they are mostly interpreted as play is collaborated by the fact that (co-)initiators and co-participants do not resort to stating that a remark is meant as a playful one. In other words, disclaimers, such as 'just joking' or 'I was only teasing', do not emerge in teasing and name-calling in non-institutionally oriented contexts (cf. Antonopoulou & Sifianou [forthcoming]).

This finding is further collaborated by research on Greek verbal play. Hirschon (1992) argues that 'in the case of Greek the explicit setting up of a [play] frame is rarely done' and one does not often hear disclaimers, such as 'σου κάνω πλάκα' ('just kidding'). Instead, participants need to decipher the relevant contextualization cues in order to understand and interpret playfully what has been said (: 42). In this respect, research on Greek verbal play points to the existence of cultural norms regarding the framing of playful talk that discourage the use of disclaimers, thereby leaving participants to negotiate possible ambiguities and deal with confusion and misunderstandings.

On this issue, in her study on teasing and peer group culture, Eder (1991) argues that such disclaimers are usually employed to clarify ambiguity in teasing: occasions when the

[100] In their discussion of humour in Greek telephone exchanges, Antonopoulou & Sifianou [forthcoming] show that often callers and answerers, who are close friends, indicate their readiness for playful talk in the opening sequence of their exchanges. Moreover, as a rule, the introduction of the play frame in the opening sequences elicits equally playful responses.

target appears to be confused about the initial intent of the tease or occasions when the target seems to be taking the tease too seriously. Making initial intent more explicit becomes pertinent, in cases where the teaser and the target are not close friends and do not know each other well enough to know how the tease will be interpreted (: 189). Following this line of argument, the absence of disclaimers in the data could also be due to the close ties developed among peer group members over four years of sustained daily interactions that made their use unnecessary.

Playing along with teasing and name-calling can take the form of the target directly responding to the initiator of the activity. At a discourse level, such responses signal the participants' mutual engagement in the activity (cf. Bekkers 2002). At an inter-personal level, they indicate that the activity should be taken as play (cf. Straehle 1993). Although not always overtly antagonistic, responding to the initiator may lead to sustaining the play frame over a number of turns, by engaging in a game of sorts over who produces the last turn in the activity.

For instance, in Transcript 6 (Appendix IV), Nontas responds to Tuncay's use of his nickname 'Μπαμπάκι' ('Babaki' line 4) by referring to the latter's nickname 'Τούτζα Μούτζα' ('Tundza Mundza', line 6). As shown (5.4.1), the two antagonists sustain the ensuing play frame by engaging in the exchange of each other's nicknames. In addition, Bahrye's continuous laughter and giggling encourages the playfulness of the activity and further maintains the play frame. In the end, it is Nontas who attempts to score over Tuncay, by physically removing himself from where they were standing, while uttering the last turn (line 16) (cf. Lytra [forthcoming]).

In response to name-calling or teasing, the target can resort to contextualization cues, such as terms of verbal abuse, which (if taken literally) can cause potential conflict (Tannock 1999). The analysis of the data indicates, however, that the use of terms of verbal abuse (e.g. 'nigger', 'nigger Pakistan') is not taken as a personal insult. Instead, the examination of recipient responses (e.g. giggling, laughter, playful respones) demonstrates that such contributions are interpreted playfully and serve to reaffirm the maintenance of the existing play frame between the target and the recipient.

This means that there are certain discourse contexts (e.g. name-calling, teasing), which give licence to interactants to use terms of verbal abuse as cues for play. In other words, one needs to be operating within this discourse context (i.e. participating in name-calling or teasing) to make sure that such cues are in fact interpreted as play. On this issue, Mitchell- Kernan (1972) highlights the use of black speech features, when employing the term 'nigger' in signifying routines among African-Americans, as a means of signaling to the recipient that this term should be seen as 'an instance of black verbal art' rather than interpreted as an insult (: 175).

For instance, in excerpt 8 below, Giannis responds to Husein's name-calling (line 8), by calling him back 'αράπη Χουσείν' ('nigger Husein' line 9).

Excerpt 8 (context 5, 15/3/99; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 2, Appendix IV)

8 Χουσείν	((μόνο ο Χουσείν)) *f* Κό::λλια Γιά::ννη .. (h)Γιάνν(hh)ιη::=
8Husein	**((only Husein) Kollia Gianni Gianni**
9Γιάννης	= *p acc* αράπη Χουσεί:ν ..
9Giannis	**= nigger Husein**
10Χουσείν	hhhh . hhh=
10Husein	**hhhh hhh=**
11Μπαχριέ	=*acc* σταματήστε ρε
11Bahrye	**=stop (re)**

12Γιάννης [*p acc* αράπη Χουσεί:ν
12Giannis **[nigger Husein**
13Χουσείν [*p acc* αράπικο σα[λάτα
13Husein **[nigger salad**

Although the use of the cue 'αράπη Χουσείν' ('nigger Husein') could have been construed as a personal insult, Husein's sustained giggling in the next turn indicates that he has not taken it as such (line 10). In fact, unheeded by Bahrye's order to stop the name-calling activity (line 10), Giannis reiterates the cue 'αράπη Χουσείν' ('nigger Husein' line 12). On this occasion, Husein engages in a form of language play: he creates a semantic tie between Giannis' and his cue and produces the phrase 'αράπικο σαλάτα' ('nigger salad', line 13) as a counter-response [101].

Both of Husein's responses (giggling and shift to language play) indicate that he has not interpreted the use of the cue 'αράπη Χουσείν' ('nigger Husein') as a personal insult. Instead, his responses reaffirm the maintenance of the existing play frame. This is further reinforced by other prosodic cues: both boys deliver their turns in low volume and accelerated speech, as if this particular stretch of talk were for their ears only. These prosodic cues are in contrast with the loudness of the preceding and subsequent talk as well as with Bahrye's contribution (line 11).

Although in casual talk uses of the term of verbal abuse 'nigger' by Giannis triggered complaints to the form teacher and resulted in his public shaming (*field-notes,* 19/2/99), this was not the case in name-calling activities (as in the example above). Instead, Husein's responses point to a normalisation of such terms of verbal abuse in playful talk:

[101] The counter-response 'αράπικο σαλάτα' ('nigger salad') could have been triggered by the phrase in Greek 'αράπικο φυστίκι' (literally 'nigger peanut'), which refers to a specific kind of peanuts.

because normal conditions of accountability are relaxed in playful talk, cues can be used, which (if taken personally) could cause offence (Kochman 1983: 333).

Co-participants, on the other hand, rely on joint production to take part in teasing and name-calling activities and sustain the play frame (Boxer & Cortés-Conde 1997; Bekkers 2002). In joint-production, meaning is co-constructed (Tannen 1989), as co-participants play an active role in sustaining the play frame under way. This most frequently takes the form of siding with the initiator of the teasing and name-calling against a common target. For the initiator and co-participants, the fact that they all join in the banter and no one has to state explicitly 'we are only teasing' indicates a mutual understanding that a play frame is being constructed (cf. Straehle 1993). This indicates that participants share past interactional histories based on which such occasions of joint production are given licence and are not misinterpreted as non-play.

For instance, in excerpt 9 below, co-participants make bids to take part in the collaborative development of the name-calling activity with Giannis' as its target.

Excerpt 9 (context 5, 17/3/99; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 1, Appendix IV)

3Χουσείν	έλα . *f* Κόλλια . Κόλλια *acc* Κόλλια Κόλλια .
3Husein	**come Kollia Kollia Kollia Kollia**
4	έλα . *f* Κόλλια . Κόλλια *acc* Κόλλια [Κόλλια
4	**come Kollia Kollia Kollia [Kollia**
5Νώντας	[*acc* Κόλλια Κόλλια=
5Nontas	**[Kollia Kollia=**
…	
20Τουτζάι	*acc* [Κόλλια Κόλλια Κόλλια=
20Tuncay	**[Kollia Kollia Kollia=**
21Χουσείν	= *acc* Κόλλια Κόλλια ..
21Husein	**=Kollia Kollia**
22Κώστας	hhhhh ..
22Costas	**hhhhh**
23Χουσείν	Κόλλια . Κόλλια . *acc* Κόλλια Κόλλια=
23Husein	**Kollia Kollia Kollia Kollia=**

24Τουτζάι	= *acc* Κόλλια 2000 δραχμές ..
24Tuncay	**=Kollia /kolya [102] 2000 drachma**
25Χουσείν	*acc* Κόλλια το ΑΕΚ και το Παναθηναϊκό=
25Husein	**Kollia AEK and Panathinaikos=**
26Μελτέμ	=*dec* ο Κόλλιας .. είναι στα κλα[σσικά χρόνια
26Meltem	**=Kollias/kolyas is in the cla[ssical period**
27Χουσείν	[*acc* σ' αγαπώ Κόλλια . σ' αγαπώ
27Husein	**[I love you Kollia/kolya I love you**

As excerpt 9 shows, Husein's rhythmic repetition of Giannis' surname/nickname 'Κόλλια' ('Kollia', lines 3-4) elicits Nontas' support: he joins forces with Husein by overlapping with him and repeating Giannis' surname/nickname (line 5). Further down excerpt 9, other co-participants make bids for the interactional floor and co-produce the name-calling activity with Giannis as the target (e.g. Tuncay in lines 20, 24, Meltem in line 26). They continue to build the play frame either by resorting to the rhythmic repetition of Giannis' surname/nickname (lines 20-21, 23) or by exploiting the phonetic tie between his surname/nickname and the homophonous Turkish noun 'kolya' (i.e. 'necklace') (lines 24-27) [103].

Tannen (1986) has established a link between shared meaning making (i.e. the mutual understanding that a play frame is under way) and 'rapport': being able to interpret unstated messages, such as 'I'm only teasing', 'sends a message of rapport' to co-participants (: 62). As a result, participating in activities, such as teasing and name-

---

[102] In lines 24- 27, 'Kollia' could also refer to the homophonous Turkish word 'kolya' (meaning necklace, in the Turkish variety of Gazi) (cf. 4.5.1).

[103] Note that on these occasions, Giannis' surname/nickname is transformed into a noun that refers to an object ('kolya'). As a noun, the word 'Kollia/kolya' is used in the subject position (e.g. 'Κόλλια 2000 δραχμές', 'Kollia/kolya 2000 drachma', line 24, 'ο Κόλλιας είναι στα κλασσικά χρόνια', 'Kollias/kolyas is in the classical period', line 26) or in the object position (e.g. 'σ'αγαπώ Κόλλια', 'I love you Kollia/kolya', line 27) (see also Transcript 2, line 34, 'Κόλλια πουλάω ελάτε', 'I'm selling Kollia/kolya come' in Appendix IV).

calling, provide the conversational arena to further develop ties in which participants enjoy considerable rapport (cf. Straehle 1993; Bekkers 2002; see also 7.1).

Siding with the initiator of the teasing or name-calling, however, does not only aim at sending a message of rapport. An investigation of who takes up the role of co-participant in teasing in particular reveals a high degree of gender bias: girls tend to side with girls against a common male target and vice versa (cf. Tholander 2002). As shown in Table 5.4 (5.4.2), Vasia alings herself with Maria in teasing Nontas (lines 2-3) and with Meltem in teasing Tuncay (lines 11-12). On both occasions, two female peer group members co-construct a teasing activity against a common, male target.

As Eder (1991) argues, teasing among peer group members is a way for adolescents (and pre-adolescents I would add) to explore heterosexual relationships and sexuality (: 186). Although explicit teasing regarding sexuality does not surface in the data, siding with a female co-teaser in cross-sex teasing is seen as a manifestation of drawing attention to and indirectly dealing with heterosexual relationships and sexuality (Eder 1995; see 7.1.1 for a discussion).

5.5.2 Keeping silent

Targets and co-participants in teasing and name-calling activities may choose to ignore a particular tease and keep silent. As research in pragmatics and sociolinguistics has demonstrated, silences are multi-functional and can thus serve a variety of communicative purposes in different types of discourse (e.g. Jaworski 1993; Tannen & Saville-Troike 1985; Sifianou, 1995; Sifianou & Tzanne 1998). Giles et al (1992) argue that silences are frequently viewed as a marker of embarrassment, shyness or even

hostility and may be interpreted as an unwillingness from the part of the silent party to communicate or as exhibiting lack of verbal skill (reported in Sifianou & Tzanne 1998: 299).

The analysis of the data demonstrates that it is usually the most voluble peer group members (e.g. Tuncay, Giannis, Vasia) that resort to silence as a response to teasing and name-calling (*field-notes,* 27/1/99). This means that silences are counter-balanced by those peer group members' volubility in other teasing and name-calling activities. For instance, in Transcript 4 (Appendix IV), Vasia does not respond to Tuncay's tease 'άντε φύγε Βασιλόπιττα 999' ('go away Vasipolita 999', line 4). Similarly, in Transcript 7 (Appendix IV), she does not address yet another tease launched by Tuncay 'σκάσε ρε Βάσια' ('shut up (re) Vasia', line 4). Her silences on these two occasions, however, are counter-balanced by instances, such as her successful reintroduction of the name-calling activity in discouse with Tuncay as its target in Transcript 3, lines 28-29, 31, 35, in Appendix IV.

By virtue of these peer group members' overall volubility in teasing and name-calling, their silences on certain occasions should neither be seen as a lack of skill to defend themselves nor should they be interpreted as a marker of discontent towards teasing or name-calling. The fact that they treat such occasions of teasing and name-calling as playful rather than hurtful is collaborated by the examination of the prior and subsequent turns to these activities.

The investigation of these turns suggests that silences as response to teasing and name-calling indicate that these instances of playful talk may not be taken as serious enough by the target to warrant a response (cf. Drew 1987). For instance, in Transcript 4 (Appendix IV), while ignoring the teasing, Vasia continues her engagement with the painting task. In the next turns, however, she reintroduces a singing activity in discourse, which elicits the participation of Meltem, Giannis and Tuncay (lines 11-16, 18). By keeping silent and reintroducing the singing activity later in the interaction, Vasia treats Tuncay's teasing (line 2), as if it never occurred, as if it were not worth addressing.

At a discourse level, Vasia's silence indicates her willingness to continue with the painting task rather than respond to the teasing, thereby bringing the play frame to a close (Jefferson 1972). At an inter-personal level, it signals her unwillingness to engage in play and attempt to top Tuncay in a game fashion (as, for instance, in Transcript 7, line 12, Appendix IV). When juxtaposed to her active participation in teasing, such as her involvement as (co-)initiator and co-participant (Table 5.4, in 5.4.2), her silence on this occasion is not interpreted as a marker of embarrassment, shyness or hostility towards teasing. Rather, it is seen as a lack of interest in the activity at that particular point in time.

In addition, the examination of next turns illustrates that peer group members who keep silent on one occasion may seek to exploit the next opportunity available and respond to teasing and name-calling playfully. This implies that rather than signalling lack of interest in the activity, silences can also be used strategically to allow targets to 'get back

at' initiators at a point further along the interaction, when they can think of an appropriate response (cf. Jaworski 1993).

For example, in excerpt 10, Vasia refrains from responding to Tuncay's teasing (line 4). In the following turns, however, she seizes the opportunity to side with Meltem and tease Tuncay: 'μπέμ σουλέ μπεμί σουλέ;' ('bem sule bemi sule?', line 12).

Excerpt 10 (context 4, 18/3/99; For a complete Transcript, seeTranscript 7 Appendix IV)

…	
4Τουτζάι	=*acc* σκάσε ρε Βά[σια
4Tuncay	**=shut up (re) Va[sia**
…	
9Τουτζάι	*p* ά:ντε ρε Cumbul=
9Tuncay	**come off with it (re) Cumbul=**
10Μελτέμ	= *f* άσε μας ρε Τούντζα Μούντζα:: Μούντζα Μούντζα:=
10Meltem	**= leave us alone (re) Tunzda Mundza Mundza Munzda=**
11Τουτζάι	=*be:n mi suledim*? .
11Tuncay	**=did I say that? .**
12Βάσια	μπέ::μ σουλέ .. μπεμί σουλέ; [4sec]
12Vasia	**bem sule bemi sule?**
	((ακούγονται πολλές φωνές))
	((a lot of background noise can be heard))
13Τουτζάι	κοίτα .. πολύ ωραίο σημαία έκανα ..
13Tuncay	**look I painted a very nice flag**
	((ακούγονται φωνές))
	((background noise))

As excerpt 10 illustrates, on this particular occasion, Tuncay's prior utterance in Turkish (line 11) furnishes Vasia with the necessary contextualization cues to build her tease and ultimately outperform Tuncay. In this context, her teasing remark can also be seen as a response to Tuncay's previously unanswered teasing (line 4).

Due to their multi-functionality, however, silences can be ambiguous. This indicates that rather than treating silences as 'a monolith and absolute', it would be more fruitful to differentiate among 'many types of silence' (Jaworski 1993: 24). The data analysis

illustrates that silence as a response to name-calling and teasing also occur when Greek-speaking monolinguals transform elements from Turkish into contextualization cues to construct play frames. Although imitations of a language style, dialect or language have been shown to function as contextualization cues (Tannock 1999) and they may illustrate willingness to experiment with another language, these cues seldom elicit uptakes (7.1.4).

For instance, in excerpt 10 above, Vasia attempts to repeat Tuncay's prior utterance twice: 'μπέμ σουλέ μπεμί σουλέ;' ('bem sule bemi sule?', line 12). Her shadowing of Tuncay's utterance, however, does not trigger a response by Tuncay, Meltem or by any other member of the audience. Instead, it is followed by an extended pauce (four seconds), which brings the teasing activity to a close, before Tuncay makes a bid to initiate a topic shift back to the painting task (line 13).

Norrick (1993) claims that sometimes repetition in the mouth of the second speaker 'skews the frame introduced by the original speaker' and 'the words come out as caricature or a sarcastic comment' (: 16). Following this line of argument, on some occasions, the repetition of elements of Turkish as contextualization cues by their Greek-speaking monolinguals could be interpreted as caricature or sarcasm. In this respect, by keeping silent and avoiding to sustain the play frame, Greek-Turkish bilinguals are signalling their discontent, while avoiding to engage in overt conflict with the users (cf. Tannen 1990; also 7.1.4).

5.5.3 Testing the boundaries of play in name-calling and teasing

Instead of responding playfully (5.5.1) or keeping silent (5.5.2), the target of teasing and name-calling can initiate a topic shift or topic change. At a discourse level, topic shifts or

topic changes aim at bringing the activity to a close and re-negotiating the play frame under way (cf. Jefferson 1972).

For instance, in Transcript 1, rather than responding to Husein's name-calling (as in the case of Transcript 2, lines 8-9), Giannis attempts to introduce a topic shift away from the name-calling activity. By trying to divert my attention to something else ('κυρία κοίτα κοίτα καλό ε;' 'Ms look look that's good right?', line 2), he is attempting to shift attention away from the activity that Husein has just initiated. The fact that I am singled out as addressee (an adult third patry and outsider to the peer group) aims to reinforce further the target's unwillingness to participate in the activity, thereby aiding towards its termination.

The examination of participant responses to frame shifting, however, demonstrates that if the aim of topic shifts is to bring the activity to an end, this is seldom achieved. Interactionally, the initiator's instistance on maintaining the play frame contary to the recipient's efforts for re-negotiation puts to test the boundaries of play: failure to re-negotiate the interactional frame can lead to frustration on the part of the recipient and possible tensions between participants.

Interestingly, the data illustrate that the target, whose efforts to shift the topic/frame backfire, does not react seriously to the maintenance of the play frame. Instead, in the next turns, the target usually makes a bid for the interactional floor to participate in the activity and play along with the teasing or name-calling. This means that the recipient does not treat unsuccessful attempts to frame/topic shift as personal affronts. This could be explained by the fact that unsuccessful attempts to frame/topic shift have an

educational value: they are regarded as part of learning to respond effectively to teasing and name-calling (cf. Eder 1991).

Although failure to topic/frame shift does not escalate into something the target no longer perceives as playful, there are other occasions in the data where conflict between the initiator and the target could potentially erupt. For instance, responding to teasing via playful aggression (e.g. hair pulling, see 4.5.8) can potentially put a strain on the activity, as the recipient may interpret it as non-play.

Pulling the teaser's hair momentarily questions the playfulness of the activity, as the recipient calls for an adult third party to intervene on her behalf. On such occasions, however, the play frame is swiftly re-established: instead of waiting for a disciplinary remark from the adult third party, the recipient frequently embarks on more playful talk. The re-establishment of the play frame clearly demonstrates that such instances of playful aggression are not in fact regarded as hurtful. For instance, in Transcript 3 (Appendix IV), Vasia complains to me that, by pulling her hair, Tuncay is hurting her ('κυρία πονάω', 'Ms it hurts', line 33). Nevertheless, without waiting for my response, in the following turns, she engages in more teasing ('Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι (...) Φεγγάρι Μπρούτζινο', 'Bronze Moon (...) Moon Bronze' line 35).

While conflict is aborted in responses to playful aggression (e.g. hair pulling), what appears as a playful remark can escalate into something more serious. Such instances of name-calling and teasing that misfire illustrate that the boundaries of play are not fixed, but under constant negotiation. Moreover, they demonstrate that regardless of how

frequently specific clusters of contextualization cues are used in teasing and name-calling, they are not constistently understood as playful.

For example, in Transcript 8 (Appendix IV), Giannis takes Husein's name-calling 'Γιάτσι Γιαννά Κόλλια' ('Giatsi Gianna Kollia', line 5) personally. This response to Husein's name-calling is surprising: Husein and other participants routinely use similar contextualization cues (i.e. references to Giannis' name and nickname/surname) coupled by prosodic cues (e.g. accelerated speech, increase in the volume) in name-calling activities with Giannis as the target (e.g. Transcript 2, lines 6-8, in Appendix IV). In addition, in these name-calling activities, Giannis does not respond to similar uses of his surname/nickname as contextualization cue seriously.

The data analysis indicates that, for real conflict to erupt, both parties need to be sharing a combative frame, as confict is a 'situated accomplishment' (Hopper, Sims & Alberts 1983, reported in Eisenberg 1986: 188). As stated (5.1), as a rule, teasing and name-calling activities in the data do not lead to overt conflict, including physical confrontations. When real conflict does erupt in teasing and name-calling, however, one of the two parties (usually the initiator of the activity) tries to diffuse tensions, by avoiding conflict talk, regardless of the other party's attempts to escalate the conflict.

For instance, in Transcript 8 (Appendix IV), Giannis, on the one hand, escalates the seriousness of his response to Husein's name-calling: he informs Husein about an alleged complaint his mother has made to the teacher regarding the latter's persistence on insulting Giannis' name (lines 10- 12, 14- 16). To lend moral weight to his claims, Giannis couches his message in reported (lines 10, 14-15) and direct speech (line 16).

Indeed, these references to third, more powerful parties (i.e. his mother and the teacher). both residing in the adult world, have the effect of enhancing the authoritativeness and authenticity of his statements (cf. Hill & Irvine 1992) as well as increasing the seriousness of his responses.

Husein, on the other hand, responds to Giannis' escalation of the seriousness of the exchange, by avoiding conflict talk and trying to diffuse tension: initially, he seems to be ignoring Giannis' summons and concentrates on the sounds the tape-recorder is making instead (lines 7, 9, 11, 13, 17). Then, he attempts to share one of the earphones with him (lines 18-19) and lastly, amidst laughter, he starts mimicking the sounds the tape-recorder is making (line 24). The strategies Husein adopts eventually lead to a resolution of the conflict. He manages to shift the focus of the interaction away from Giannis' revelations regarding his mother's complaints to the teacher to the noises the tape-recorded in making and re-negotiate a new play frame (lines 23- 25).

At a discourse level, by taking teasing and name-calling personally, targets manage to successfully put an end to these activities. Interactionally, instances of name-calling and teasing that backfire can provide the interactional arena where participants have the opportunity to air their grievances regarding each other's conduct as well as express and negotiate feelings of tension (Eder 1991). Moreover, research on conflict talk has demonstrated that the goal of such exchanges may not always be to resolve conflict, but rather to display verbal skill and maintain status hierarchies within groups (Eder 1990; Goodwin M.H. 1990).

Following this line of argument, Giannis' escalation of the seriousness of the name-calling activity (in Transcript 7) could have been triggered by underlying grievances about being consistently positioned as the target of Husein's name-calling. At the same time, this particular exchange could be seen as an attempt from Giannis' part to re-negotiate status hierarchies between the two boys, especially since both engage actively in name-calling during free time (for a discussion, see 7.1.2).

5.5.4 Adult third party intervention

Research on child socialisation and teasing has indicated that adult third parties consistently help defend younger children that are teased by older siblings and other adults, because the former are not yet capable of defending themselves (Eisenberg 1986: 188). They support children in the interaction by helping them understand that teasing is a form of play and by teaching them how to play along with the teasing (ibid).

The analysis of the data, however, reveals minimal adult (i.e. teacher and researcher) interference to lend a hand to targets of teasing and name-calling, because targets were perceived as capable enough to respond to these activities themselves (*field-notes*, 27/1/99; *survey interview 3, 28/8/99*) [104]. Nevertheless, targets sometimes appeal to an adult third party to intervene on their behalf and discipline the initiator of the teasing and name-calling. It is worth noting that although targets (mainly girls) may complain to adult third parties present, they do not seem to expect these third parties to actually intervene and discipline the initiatior. Instead, in the following turns, targets usually respond to the

[104] Note, however, that adult third parties do intervene, when one is considred to have 'gone too far' (see Transcript 2, lines 39- 41, Appendix IV). On these occasions, adult intervention functions as a form of social control with the purpose of signalling out inappropriate conduct and restoring order (cf. Eisenberg 1986; see also 6.3.5).

initiator with more teasing and name-calling, by reintroducing the play frame in the discourse.

For instance, in Transcript 2, Meltem approaches the teacher and complains to her that Giannis has been calling her 'αγελάδα' ('cow') (lines 30-31). Without waiting for the teacher to intervene, in the subsequent turns, Meltem reinitiates the name-calling activity with Giannis as its target, by creatively alluding to the phonetic tie between his surname/nickname and the Turkish word 'kolya' (i.e. necklace): 'Κόλλια πουλάω ελάτε' ('I'm selling Kollia come', line 34).

At a discourse level, one would expect that calling a third adult party to intervene would have the effect of terminating the teasing and name-calling. The data analysis illustrates that this is far from the case: as stated earlier, addressing an adult third party usually paves the way for more teasing and name-calling. In this respect, these complaints to an adult third party function as ritual complaints rather than as real complaints.

As the uptake of these complaints illustrates (i.e. reintroduction of teasing and name-calling in discourse), their purpose is not for the adult third party to actually intervene and discipline the perpetrator. Instead, their purpose is to negotiate peer group relations, and, in particular, gender relations and exhibit (potentially) positive affect (cf. Eder 1991). This claim is collaborated by the fact that appeals to an adult third party usually occur in instances of cross-sex name-calling and teasing, interpreted in the light of cross-sex power games, peer group hierarchies and sex differentiaton among peers (see 7.1.1).

5.5 Teasing and name-calling in non-instituionally oriented contexts

The analysis of the data demonstrates that teasing and name-calling activities do not differ across non-institutionally oriented contexts (contexts 4-6) in terms of contextualization cues and potential responses. They do differ, however, in the participation frameworks (i.e. two-party vs. multi-party participation): multi-party participation emerges more frequently in contexts 4 and 5 (interactions during free time in the classroom) than in context 6 (playground interactions during free time).

This discrepancy in the data can be attributed to differences in the institutional features of context 6 as opposed to the other two contexts regarding the setting parameter (e.g. the public space of the schoolyard) and the participant parameter (e.g. limited teacher supervision) (cf. 4.2.1- 4.2.2). These features could be responsible for restricting the development of multi-party teasing and name-calling, which otherwise was shown to thrive in interactions during free time in the classroom (contexts 4-5). In addition, the low frequency of multi-party participation in context 6 could be attributed to high degree of mobility during playground interactions and peer group members' engagement in physical activities with peers across age groups. In this respect, by participating in a variety of friendship groups in schoolyard interactions (3.4.2), peer group members interact less among themselves, thereby constraining the availability of sustained multi-party teasing and name-calling.

In addition, the data analysis has identified an association between the way teasing and name-calling activities in context 4 are initiated, developed and terminated and the role of the task parameter (cf. 4.2.3). As a rule, teasing and name-calling activities in context 4

are triggered by topics relevant to language learning and language teaching tasks in which peer group members were engaged at the time (e.g. the identification of Babis' spelling errors in his homework triggers the ensuing play frame, Transcript 5, lines 4- 6, in Appendix IV).

As argued (4.2.5), the task parameter (either assigned by the teacher or chosen by the pupils to do during free time) is an institutional feature that characterises exchanges in context 4 (as opposed to contexts 5-6). This institutional feature also places context 4 closer to the middle of the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum vis-à-vis contexts 5-6 (that are placed towards the end of the continuum). This finding illustrates that institutional features, such as the task parameter, can also trigger teasing and name-calling during free time. In other words, it is not only the assessment of one's singing efforts that can produce teasing remarks (e.g. Transcript 4, lines 3-4, in Appendix IV), but also the assessment of one's academic performance (e.g. Transcript 7, lines 4-6, in Appendix IV).

Due to the task parameter, play frames in context 4 are usually introduced and maintained against a backdrop of language learning and language teaching tasks. In other words, teasing and name-calling set up play frames that are embedded in task-oriented frames. Given that the boundaries of frames are fluid, participants can orient two or more frames simultaneously (Tannen 1993: 65). When teasing and name-calling is brought to a close, participants frequently signal verbally the termination of the play frame, by making an explicit topic shift back to the task.

For instance, in Transcript 7 (Appendix IV), two teasing activities take place. while the participants involved are engaged in a painting task. Subsequent to Vasia's teasing remark (line 12), the second teasing activity is terminated, as there is no uptake. Instead, there is a 4-second pause and in the following turn, Tuncay shifts back to the task by assessing how well he painted his flag ('κοίτα πολύ ωραίο σημαία έκανα' 'look I painted a very nice flag', line 13).

The absence of the task parameter in the two other contexts (contexts 5- 6) also influences the way play frames emerge and are developed in these contexts. The data analysis demonstrates that participants usually embed play frames in other socio-relational frames, such as gosipping, exchanging views/opinions, conflict talk, soliciting (e.g. Transcript 6, line 1, in Appendix IV) [105]. While socio-relational frames emerge in social encounters at school and other institutional settings (cf. Coupland et al 1994; Ribeiro 1996), they are particularly dominant during free time (*field-notes*, 1/2/99). This is because in non-institutionally oriented contexts, instructional frames are temporarily suspended (e.g. the lesson frame) and institutional features are minimised or they subside (e.g. teacher control in the playground and in the classroom during free time respectively) (cf. 4.2.1-4.2.5).

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I investigated the emergence and development of playful talk in non-institutionally oriented contexts (contexts 4, 5 and 6), by focusing on two out of the three

[105] This, however, should not imply that play frames in context 4 cannot be embedded in socio-relational frames as well. In fact, it has been argued (1.7) that play frames in general are associated with socio-relational or personal frames that are employed to signal casual talk. This means that a play frame may be embedded in a socio-relational frame, which in turn can be nested in a task-related frame (e.g. Transcript 7, lines 1-13, in Appendix IV).

most frequently occurring verbal activities in the data, notably teasing and name-calling among peer group members.

The analysis of the data illustrated that name-calling activities were introduced in discourse either by being or by not being anchored onto preceding talk. Teasing activities, on the other hand, were anchored onto prior talk. In addition, peer group members had available what appeared to be repertoires of contextualization cues for teasing and name-calling, which they resorted to across contexts 4-6. These repertoires, however, were not static. Instead, it was demonstrated how peer group members (e.g. Husein, Tuncay, Vasia) were responsible for introducing and incorporating novel cues in playful talk. Overall, the data analysis indicated that peer group members needed to have a shared set of assumptions and associations to help them understand the meaning of these cues and interpret them playfully, even though cues for name-calling were more routine-oriented than those for teasing.

The data analyis also revealed that the sequencing rules for name-calling were more flexible than those identified in other agonistic discursive phenomena, such as verbal duelling and ritual insulting. This flexibility was reflected in the variety of participant positions (e.g. (o-)initiators, targets, (co-)respondants) and in the scope for renewal of the cues used in these activities. In this context, I identified two participant configurations: (1) two-party participation with no audience or limited audience participation, which was more prevelant in context 6 and (2) multi-party participation, which was more prevalent in contexts 4-5.

In addition, in this chapter, I identified and discussed the different responses to teasing and name-calling that peer group members had at their disposal. These were: (1) responding playfully to name-calling and teasing; (2) keeping silent; (3) testing the boundaries of name-calling and teasing and (4) calling an adult third party to intervene. The data analysis indicated that the most preferred response was the first (responding playfully to name-calling and teasing), followed by the second one (keeping silent). Overall, the preference to respond playfully to name-calling and teasing indicated that targets and co-participants treated these activities as playful rather than hurtful and collaborated in maintaining the play frame.

Lastly, the analysis of the data pointed to differences in the way play frames were introduced and developed across non-institutionally oriented contexts. Due to the task parameter, as a rule, play frames in context 4 (task-based interactions during free time in the classroom) were embedded in task-oriented frames. Contexts 5-6 (interactions during free time in the classroom and schoolyard interactions respectively) were embedded in socio-relational frames (e.g. gossiping, conflict talk, soliciting)

In the next chapter, I investigate playful talk and play frames in interactions occurring in institutionally oriented contexts (contexts 1-3).

Chapter six

Framing playful talk in institutionally oriented contexts

6.0 Introduction

In chapter 6, I examine the framing of playful talk in institutionally oriented contexts, namely during whole-group and small group instruction (contexts 1-2) and during lunchtime (context 3). As argued (4.2.5), context 3 (lunchtime exchanges) exhibits institutional features (e.g. degree of teacher control and the existence of eating practices and habits dictated by the school), which place this context in a middle position (but closer to the institutionality end) of the continuum (Figure 4.5, in 4.2.5). These features determine both participant positions and the contextualization cues that are employed to frame playful talk in this context. For this reason, in this thesis, context 3 is discussed in the same chapter as instructional contexts 1-2 and all three contexts are viewed as institutionally oriented contexts.

I ground the investigation of playful talk during instruction on a review of the literature on classroom discourse (6.1) and framing talk during instruction (6.2). Drawing on Goffman's (1971) dramaturgical metaphors, I investigate the emergence of playful talk during whole-group instruction (context 1) in terms of: (1) backstage playful talk and (2) frontstage playful talk (6.3). I explore the contextualization cues participants (pupils and teachers) employ to initiate and develop play frames and investigate participation frameworks and participant responses (6.3.1- 6.3.5). In this context, I engage in a comparative discussion of whole-group (context 1) and small-group group instruction (context 2), by probing into contextualization cues and participation frameworks (6.4). I

conclude this chapter, by exploring playful talk and play frames during lunchtime (context 3) (6.5).

6.1 Classroom discourse: an overview

The majority of studies on classroom discourse have focused on teacher-pupil talk. Studies following the ethnomethodological and conversation analytic traditions have been concerned with the examination of classroom discourse with the purpose of probing into the institutional order of schools (Cicourel 1974; Mehan 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard 1975). In this context, studies in these traditions have explored the organization of turn-taking (McHoul 1978) and repair (McHoul 1990) in formal classroom situations. Other studies have looked at how teachers make use of certain procedures and practices to initiate the lesson and how these are based on shared assumptions and cultural understandings between teachers and pupils (Payne 1976). Moreover, a number of studies have explored issues of classroom management and pupil accountability (MacBeth 1990, 1991).

Although this line of research does not explicitly focus on (bi-)multilingual/cultural classrooms, some of its early studies (e.g. Cicourel 1974; Mehan 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard 1975) have provided insights for researchers working in these settings from an interactional sociolinguistics stand-point (e.g. Erickson & Shultz 1981; Gumperz 1982a; Hymes 1974). These researchers have been concerned with associating linguistic variability with the ways in which schools (among other sites) act as institutions of social selection (Heller & Martin-Jones 2001b: 3). In this context, they have investigated the culturally distinct linguistic practices, which members of different speech communities

develop in their respective communities, and the impact these practices have on bilingual/bicultural classrooms [106]. Such studies have identified a mismatch in cultural conventions between the types of knowledge pupils bring to school from their respective communities and those valued by mainstream schools.

A critique launched against this line of research is that these studies do not address the role institutionally organised relations of power play in interaction (Heller & Martin-Jones 2001b: 4). By focusing on differences in cultural conventions, critics argue, researchers assume that pupils from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds participate in interactions at school (among other institutional sites) on an equal footing. This assumption fails to take into account that social relations are (re)produced in social institutions (such as schools), which control access to and allocate valued resources (e.g. linguistic and cultural resources) (ibid).

Taking this critique as a point of departure, the investigation of playful talk and play frames in classroom discourse aims at examining how, through local interactional practices (in our case the use of playful talk), the 4th grade pupils and their teachers affirm, negotiate, modify or contest social relations (including relations of power) during instruction (cf. Rampton 1995; Heller 1999; Heller & Martin-Jones 2001a; also chapter 7.2.1, for a discussion). This line of inquiry is in agreement with more recent approaches to classroom discourse that have focused on the heterogeneity of classroom discourses

[106] See, for instance, Au 1980; Boggs, Watson-Gegeo & McMillen 1981; McMillen 1981, all studies reported in Mehan 1985, regarding Hawaiian classrooms; Kochman 1972, 1983, on differences between black and white communicative styles at school; Heath 1983, on a comparative study of black and white working class discourses in the classroom as children are socialized in their respective communities of speaking; Dumont 1972; John 1972; Phillips 1972, 1983, on linguistic variation among Native American children at school.

and have explored the social practices within which their production and dissemination are situated. Such studies, for instance, have looked at how, through the construction of 'hybrid discourse practices', teachers and pupils generate 'heteroglossic classroom (micro)cultures' resulting in the redefinition of traditional power relations between teachers and pupils (Kambanelis 2001: 85) [107].

Through the examination of playful talk during instruction, this chapter attempts to address a gap in classroom research, by expanding its scope to include both teacher-pupil talk and pupil-pupil talk. Unlike teacher-pupil talk, pupil-pupil talk has received limited attention. Studies on pupil-pupil talk, for example, have dealt with pupil learning processes in task-oriented small group instruction [108] or with micro-interactional processes (e.g. processes of resistance by marginalised pupils) (Diamondstone 1999). Fewer studies have probed into pupils' undirected, informal talk during instruction in relation to possible learning processes it may be promoting (Maybin 1991, 1994; also Rampton 1999 for pupils' informal talk in a FL context) [109].

Moreover, by focusing on playful talk during instruction in particular, this chapter seeks to explore linguistic and cultural practices that have received limited attention in classroom discourse research. Few studies have specifically looked into aspects of playful talk and play routines during instruction: For instance, Woods (1976) has explored the significance of laughter as a pupil resource to bond or subvert. Maybin (1994) has probed

---

[107] Other researchers have associated the concepts of 'hybridity' and 'hybrid language practices' with the creation of 'third spaces' defined as 'zones of development' that promote opportunities for learning, during instruction (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-Lopez and Tejeda 1999: 286).

[108] See, for instance, Barnes & Todd 1977; Bennett & Cass 1989; Phillips 1987, reported in Maybin 1994; Flanigan 1991 regarding peer tutoring in a SLA context.

[109] Note that most of these studies focus on pupil-pupil talk in linguistically and culturally homogeneous classrooms (with the exception of studies in S/FLA, such as Rampton 1999, mentioned above).

into different verbal activities (e.g. joking, language play, singing, joke-telling) as pupil resources to negotiate relationships and make identity displays. MacBeth (1990) has looked into play routines (a break-dancing routine) as challenges to teacher authority.

6.2 Instructional frames vs. play frames during instruction

Following Bateson (1972), frames are not discrete entities: main and minor frames (or frames triggered in the centre of classroom discourse vs. frames triggered in the periphery) can operate simultaneously, thereby revealing the complexity of contextual embeddings (: 188). Two main frames emerge during instruction (contexts 1-2): (1) instructional frames (which are comprised of lesson, class management and task-related frames and dominate classroom discourse) and (2) socio-relational frames (which include greetings/leavings, small-talk, dealing with late-comers and so on and have a less prominent position in classroom discourse). It is through these frames that participants display their official roles as teachers and pupils respectively, which are in accordance with the norms and rules set by the school as a social institution (cf. Baynham 1996). Play frames, which are also triggered during instruction, can emerge as both minor (in the periphery of classroom talk) and main frames (in its centre).

Instructional frames and socio-relational frames are usually proposed by teachers, while play frames are mostly initiated by pupils. As argued (4.2), all three types of frames are generated within the context of the school as a social institution, which imposes a larger frame of reference. This supra-frame influences the framing of playful talk during instruction in particular and the framing of playful talk across contexts in general (e.g. playful talk during lunchtime).

Instructional frames are asymmetrical in terms of their structure and the constraints they put on what talk should be produced and who controls the ongoing activity. For instance, in whole-group instruction (context 1) teachers exert control over turn-taking rights and topic development (cf. 4.2). By shifting to play frames, pupils attempt to introduce a more symmetrical relationship: on these occasions, the roles of teacher and pupil are placed in the background, while other social roles and identities (e.g. being a peer group member, a competent teaser) are brought to the foreground (Baynham 1996). Such shifts to play frames have interactional consequences, as they redress institutional asymmetries and power relations (cf. Ribeiro 1996, regarding framing talk in psychiatric interviews; for a discussion, see also chapter 7.2.1).

The data analysis reveals that during whole-group instruction pupils and teachers remain mostly in the instructional frames, which they collaboratively construct. As Tannen (1986) argues, participants (teachers and pupils) tend to feel constrained to 'sail with the framing winds' (: 92). These constraints become all the more significant, since resisting a frame or reframing talk calls for additional interactional effort: participants need both conversational skill and power to initiate such shifts (cf. Ribeiro 1996). While participants mainly stay in the instructional frames, they also initiate shifts to play, which is of interest to us here.

The centrality of instructional frames during whole-group instruction (context 1), however, wanes during task-based small-group instruction (context 2), during which an increase in occurrences of playful talk has been identified (see Figure 4.6, in 4.3.1).

During small-group instruction, pupils are more willing and able to 'rock the conversational boat' (Ribeiro 1996: 184), especially since instructional frames are proposed by fellow pupils, instead of teachers (cf. 4.2.5). This means that teacher control over topic and frame development that characterises interactions during whole-group instruction seizes and pupils have to wrestle control from each other. In this struggle over topic and frame development, play frames can become a resource to negotiate (institutional and non-institutional) roles and undermine bids for authority and status among peers (see 6.4).

6.3 Playful talk during whole-group instruction

Drawing on Goffman's (1971) dramaturgical metaphors of 'frontstage' and 'backstage', two types of playful talk have been identified in whole-group instruction (context 1): (1) backstage playful talk and (2) frontstage playful talk. By backstage playful talk, this study takes to mean informal talk among pupils that takes place in the periphery of classroom discourse (6.3.1-6.3.2). By playful talk as frontstage talk, on the other hand, it takes to mean teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil talk that emerges in the centre of classroom discourse (6.3.3-6.3.4).

These two types of playful talk reaffirm similar distinctions in classroom talk identified in other studies. For instance, Cazden (1988) differentiates between talk produced in the centre and talk generated in the periphery of the classroom floor. She associates talk produced in the centre with 'the official world of the teacher's agenda' and talk generated

in the margins of the classroom floor with 'the unofficial world of the peer culture' (: 150) [110].

Similar distinctions in talk have been found in informal conversational contexts. On this issue, Coates (2000) draws on Goffman's aforementioned dramaturgical metaphor to investigate small talk encounters among females. She argues that frontstage talk is public and requires participants to behave in more carefully controlled ways, by following prevailing norms of politeness and decorum. Backstage talk, on the other hand, is private (as in informal personal conversations), which means that these rules of conduct are relaxed (: 243).

Taking these two types of playful talk as a point of departure, the data analysis shows that by transporting playful talk from the periphery (backstage talk) to the very centre of classroom discourse (frontstage talk), pupils and teachers blur the boundaries between backstage and frontstage talk. In addition, the type of playful talk that emerges in discourse has a bearing on how this talk is framed. In backstage playful talk, play frames are introduced and developed as parallel frames (3.3.2). In frontstage playful talk, however, play frames are initiated and maintained as embedded frames, which may occasionally become forked frames (3.3.4). This means that, even though both types of playful talk (backstage and frontstage) emerge in context 1 (whole-group instruction) and are placed in the same end along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum (Figure 4.5, 4.2.5), play frames are triggered and sustained differently.

---

[110] These dramaturgical metaphors have been employed to describe code-switching practices in multilingual classrooms and distinguish between 'center-stage language use' and 'backstage language use' (Arthur 2001: 67- 69).

6.3.1. Backstage playful talk

As mentioned (6.3), backstage playful talk is exclusively private pupil-pupil talk and it emerges among pupils sitting in close proximity. By virtue of close seating arrangements, pupils can periodically initiate, share and contribute to backstage playful talk, without usually attracting the attention of teachers and other pupils, who are engaged in the official classroom business (i.e. instruction) (cf. *foot-notes,* 27/1/99). Following Goffman (1967, 1981), the data analysis reveals the following participant positions: (1) *initiator* of playful talk; (2) *ratified participants*, who include all those sitting in close proximity and (3) *unratified participants*, who incorporate teachers, pupils who are sitting further away and the researcher. Although unratified participants are held at bay, they may become ratified participants or over-hearers of backstage playful talk, when this talk becomes louder and more declamatory.

The data analysis indicates that a small group of boys sitting next to each other (Giannis, Babis, Tuncay and Husein) produce a significant part of backstage playful talk. This means that the members of this small group alternate in the roles of initiator and ratified participants. It is worth noting that the same group of four boys played a central role in initiating and developing name-calling activities during free time (Table 5.1b in 5.1). This means that these peer group members actively engage in playful talk across interactional contexts (both institutionally oriented and non-institutionally oriented ones). The fact that they four boys also sit next to each other during the lesson aids further in transferring practices (such as teasing and name-calling) from free time to instruction.

Regarding the contextualization cues in backstage playful talk, pupils employ similar cues to those used during free time (Tables 5.1a-5.1b, in 5.1). In other words, pupils import cues from playful talk during free time to backstage playful talk during whole-group instruction. The use of similar contextualization cues is attributed to the fact that interactions in these contexts primarily occur among peers. The direction of the cues (from playful talk during free time to backstage playful talk during whole-group instruction) is also significant: it reveals that practices (in our case the use of playful talk) are introduced first in non-institutionally oriented contexts (contexts 4-6) and then they are transported into institutionally oriented ones (contexts 1-3). In this respect, playful talk produced in the margins of classroom discourse becomes an extension of playful talk produced during free time.

Table 6.1a below presents the different contextualization cues employed in verbal activities during backstage playful talk and their users, as identified in the data [111].

Table 6.1a. Contextualization cues and users per verbal activity in backstage playful talk

Verbal activities	Contextualization cues	Users
Teasing	mock challenges, commands, one-liners, terms of verbal abuse, nicknames, laughter, low volume	Tuncay, Husein, Giannis, Babis
Name-calling	nicknames, cries, terms of verbal abuse, fast pace, laughter, low volume, vowel elongation, shifts in stress, rhythm and rhyme	Tuncay, Husein, Giannis, Babis
Joking	playing upon form, such as	Babis, Costas, Tuncay

[111] That backstage playful talk was restricted to boys only could have been a product of the recording conditions: the tape-recorder was placed closer to the four boys and could capture their backstage talk (including their backstage playful talk) better. It is worth noting, however, that when the tape-recorder was placed closer to the girls, it recorded very little backstage talk in general and very few occurrences of backstage playful talk in particular (*field-notes*, 27/1/99). These findings point to differences between boys and girls in the production of playful backstage talk during whole-group instruction, which could be explored further in the future.

	using exaggeration and hyperbole, laughter, low volume	
Language play	manipulating elements of languages (usually Greek), such as adding the same suffix to different first names, manipulating the stress of words and the pronunciation of consonants, laughter	Costas, Tuncay, Fanis
Crying out	media-inspired cries, nonsense cries, laughter, low volume	Tuncay, Husein, Giannis, Babis

The transfer of cues from free time to backstage playful talk becomes more evident in instances when teachers have suspended the instructional frame and backstage playful talk becomes louder dominating discourse. On these occasions, pupils produce activities, such as singing and reciting, which do not normally occur in backstage playful talk. Moreover, they resort to a larger range of cues than those employed in backstage playful talk, which is generated in the periphery of classroom discourse. The incorporation of new activities and cues in playful talk is the result of opening up participation to pupils who are not necessarily sitting in close proximity (e.g. female peer group members) (see Table 1b below).

Table 6.1b below illustrates the different contextualization cues employed in verbal activities during backstage playful talk and their users, when teachers have suspended instructional frames.

Table 6.1b. Contextualization cues and users per verbal activity in backstage playful talk (when teachers have suspended instructional frames)

Verbal activities	Contextualization cues	Users
Teasing	mock challenges, commands, one-liners, terms of verbal abuse, nicknames, laughter, loud volume	Tuncay, Husein, Giannis, Babis, Meltem, Nontas
Name-calling	nicknames, cries, terms of verbal abuse, fast pace, laughter, loud volume, vowel elongation, shifts in stress, rhythm and rhyme	Tuncay, Husein, Giannis, Babis
Singing	fragments of songs, sing-song intonation, shifts in pitch, volume and stress, laughter, loud volume	Meltem, Vasia, Babis
Crying out	media-inspired cries, nonsense cries, laughter, loud volume	Tuncay, Husein, Giannis, Babis, Vasia
Reciting	fragments of speeches, loud and declamatory manner, laughter	Meltem

As Table 6.1b demonstrates, by virtue of its volubility, centrality in discourse and variability of cues, backstage playful talk, introduced when teachers have suspended instructional frames, closely resembles instances of playful talk in interactions during free time (cf. chapter 5) rather than exchanges during instruction.

As a rule, the emergence of backstage playful talk in whole-group instruction occurs at interactional junctions. Interactional junctions have been identified as those moments in whole-group instruction during which teachers have relaxed their attention: for instance, they have shifted their attention to one side of the classroom, their notes or the blackboard, or they are pre-occupied with private teacher-pupil talk. Moreover, interactional junctions are frequently associated with breaks in the lesson frame and shifts to a class management frame. For instance, the lesson frame can be temporarily

suspended, as pupils engage in a copying task (excerpt 2 below). Pupils tend to be sensitive to breaks in the teacher's attention or in the lesson frame, since such breaks provide them with opportunities to generate private pupil-pupil playful talk and construct play frames in the periphery of classroom discourse.

Similar to some other types of backstage talk (e.g. clarification questions, see *field-notes*, 27/1/99), playful talk is produced overwhelmingly in low, occasionally whispering, voices, since it is directed to those in the immediate conversational circle of the initiator. In addition, it usually emerges in the discourse without being anchored onto some prior talk (cf. name-calling activities, 5.2.1). For instance, in the following example, the teacher has shifted her attention and gaze to one of the pupils (Vasia) and is addressing her question regarding the reasons why parents in the ancient Greek world would be forced to sell their children as slaves (lines 1-3). While Vasia is responding to the teacher's explanation (line 4), Babis, who is sitting at the other end of the classroom, introduces a joking activity on the side, by making a self-reference to Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of the PKK (see 4.5.5) (line 5).

Excerpt 1 (context 1, 30/3/99, with the teacher for the class history project; for a complete Transcript, see Transcript 2, Appendix V) [112]

Centre		Periphery
1Δασκάλα	αν δεν είχε πολλά χωράφια	
1Teacher	**if he didn't have enough food**	
2	για να τα θρέψει .. μπορούσε	
2	**for his children**	
3	τα παιδιά του να τα πουλήσει ..	
3	**he could sell them**	
4Βάσια	κατάλαβα ..	
4Vasia	**right**	

[112] In chapter 6, I use a parallel column format to capture more adequately the way backstage playful talk is produced during whole-group instruction (cf. Ribeiro 1993).

5	(	…	[	)	Μπάμπης	[*p* είμαι Αμπντουλάχ::(hh)
5	(	**….**	[	)	**Babis**	**[I'm Abdullah**
…						

In excerpt 1, Babis marks off his talk from both the preceding and current classroom talk (lines 1-4), by making use of prosody: he exploits stress, vowel elongation and giggling and delivers his turn in low voice, while overlapping with Vasia, who is the current speaker in the centre of classroom discourse. The prosodic cues he uses also indicate that the ratified participants include only those pupils sitting in close proximity to him.

Backstage playful talk can also be triggered by prior talk in discourse. For example, in excerpt 2 below, the teacher has turned her back to the pupils and is writing the main points of the discussion on the blackboard, while the pupils are copying them in their notebooks. Prior to the introduction of playful talk (line 3), Tuncay asks Giannis to give him his eraser (line 1). As Giannis appears to ignore Tuncay's request, Husein leans towards the microphone, which has been placed in front of him, and initiates a name-calling activity with Giannis as the target (line 2).

Excerpt 2 (context 1, 30/3/99, with the teacher for the class history project; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 1, Appendix V)

Centre		Periphery	
1Τουτζάι	((επαναλαμβάνει ό,τι αντιγράφει))		
1Tuncay	**((he repeats what he is copying))**		
2	*f* α- ο ά::ρχοντας .. .. *acc* γόμα		
2	**ah the ruler the eraser**		
2	Γιάννη .. .. *f* γόμα		
2	**Gianni the eraser**		
		3 Χουσείν	((στο μικρόφωνο))
		3Husein	**((in the microphone))**
		4	*p* Κό:λλια .. Κό:λλια ..
		4	**Kollia Kollia**
		5	Κό:λλια(hh) .
		5	**Kollia**

6Τουτζάι	((επαναλαμβάνει)) *f* ο <u>άρχοντας</u> ..		
6Tuncay	**((he repeats)) the ruler**		
7	((στον Χουσείν)) *acc* <u>φύγε</u> ρε=		
7	**((to Husein)) go away (re)=**		
		8 Χουσείν	=*p* <u>Κόλλια</u>:: .
		8Husein	**=Kollia**

The name-calling activity in excerpt 2 is triggered by Gianni's lack of response to Tuncay's request for the eraser (lines 1-2). Husein marks off the name-calling activity from talk regarding the copying task, by resorting to prosody: he produces his turn in a low voice that contrasts with the loudness of Tuncay's request for the eraser (line 2). This shift in volume signals to the others present that the name-calling is produced in the periphery of classroom discourse, for the ears of the pupils sitting in close proximity only (i.e. Tuncay, Husein, Giannis and Babis; cf. excerpt 1, line 4, in this section).

As stated earlier in this section, however, when teachers suspend instructional frames, backstage playful talk becomes louder and it attains a more public and declamatory character. These occasions generate considerable background noise, as pupils engage in playful talk, while waiting for the teacher to resume the lesson. For instance, as Transcript excerpt 3 below demonstrates, pupils exploit songs (lines 1-2, 6, 9), mock threats (line 5), nicknames (line 12) and mock teases (line 13) to build play frames.

Excerpt 3 (contexts 1, 18/3/99, with the English language teacher; For a complete Transcript see Transcript 3, Appendix V)

1Μελτέμ	((τραγουδάει)) γει-ά σας . με λέν Πό-πη . σα τη για-γιά μου τη Καλλιόπη
1Meltem	**((she raps)) hi there my name is Popi just like my granny Calliope**
2	αχ να με λέ-γανωε Κυβέ:λη- ..
2	**oh how I wish my name were Kiveli**
...	
5Μελτέμ	=θα σε σκοτώ:σω ..
5Meltem	**=I'm gonna kill you**
6	*f* θέλω να ξέρω γιατί: . γιατί:
6Vasia	**I wanna know why why**

…
9 *f* θέλω να ξέρω γιατί:: . θέλω να ξέρω γιατί::
9Vasia I wanna know why why
10Νώντας *acc* έλα ρε . φέρτο . ΦΕΡΤΟ Μελτέμ .
10Nontas **come on (re) give it back give it back ((to me)) Meltem**
11Μπάμπης *f* Μελτέμ Οβαλί=
11Babis **Meltem Ovali=**
12Νώντας =*p* Τζουμπούλ=
12Nontas =Cumbul=
13Μελτέμ =*f* στο (h)τέλος της (hh)6^{ης} .. ..
13Meltem **=((you'll get it back)) at the (h)end of (hh)6th grade**
…

Overall, as in the case of teasing and name-calling during free time (5.3), in backstage playful talk, peer group members rely on cues whose meaning they can understand and interpret as play, by virtue of a shared set of assumptions and associations. For instance, in excerpt 2, Husein relies on the rhythmic repetition of Giannis' surname/nickname 'Kollia' to introduce the name-calling activity (line 3). The use of Giannis' surname/nickname as a contextualization cue and the mode of delivery of the turn (emphatic stress on the first syllable of Giannis' surname/nickname, rhythm and pace) allude to the introduction of similar name-calling activities during free time (cf. 5.2.1). These findings point to the transfer of cues across interactional contexts, as discussed earlier in this section, and demonstrate the existence of a trajectory of interactions that have been shaped by the peer group members' shared assumptions and practices regarding playful talk (cf. Maybin 1994, for similar findings in the use of reported speech among peers).

6.3.2 Play frames as parallel frames

When playful talk emerges in backstage talk, play frames are introduced and developed in parallel with on-going instructional frames (lesson or class management frames).

Throughout the production of the play frames, the instructional frames occupy the centre of classroom discourse and are the main classroom frames. Because the two frames occur in parallel, pupils engaging in playful talk can shift in and out of the instructional frames. Such shifts are necessary to ensure that the conduct of pupils engaging in backstage playful talk is not seen as disruptive enough to warrant teacher intervention to restore classroom order.

Pupils move in and out of the instructional frames, by initiating constant shifts in 'footing' (Goffman 1972; cf. 1.3). Depending on their footing, pupils may demonstrate a consistent orientation towards the play frame under construction or they may opt for successive shifts in footing to signal changes in their position vis-à-vis the development of the play frame. Overall, engagement in backstage playful talk seldom elicits an uptake by teachers (cf. 6.3.5). This seems to be associated with the mode of delivery of such talk: it is usually produced in a low voice, in fast pace and with short (if any pauses) between the turns. Due to the lack of teacher uptake, the emergence and development of these play frames do not appear to disrupt the activities taking place in the centre of classroom discourse.

As mentioned, sometimes pupils may share a consistent orientation towards the development of the play frame, either by actively contributing to it or by signalling their support via prosodic cues, most frequently giggling. Simultaneously, they may be orienting to (at least part of) the instructional frame under way [113]. For instance, in excerpt 4 below, Babis' initiation of the joking activity introduces a play frame in the

[113] Due to the lack of video-recordings, it is not possible to ascertain whether pupils engaging in backstage playful talk are concurrently orienting to both play and instructional frames.

periphery of classroom discourse, while the lesson frame occupies the centre stage (line 5).

Excerpt 4 (context 1, 30/3/99, with the teacher for the class history project; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 2, Appendix V)

Centre		Periphery	
…			
4Βάσια	κατάλαβα ..		
4Vasia	**right**		
5	([...)	5Μπάμπης	[*p* είμαι Αμπντουλάχ::(hh)
5	([**...**)	**5Babis**	**[I'm Abdullah**
6	(...)	6Τουτζάι	((στο Γιάννη)) *p* ηξέ(hh)ρεις
6	(**...**)	**6Tuncay**	**((to Giannis)) do you know**
		7	τί είπε; . Αμπντουλάχ(hh) .
		7	**what he said? Abdullah**
8Δασκάλα	*f dec* γράφω .		
8Teacher	**I'm writing**		
9	ό,τι έ[χουμε πει	9Γιάννης	[*acc p* άμπε άμπε
9	**what [we said**	**9Giannis**	**[long live**
((η δασκάλα γράφει στον πίνακα))		10	Κουρδιστάν=
((the teacher is writing on the blackboard))		**10**	**Kurdistan=**
		11Μπάμπης	=*acc p* άμπε .
		11Babis	**=long live**

…

Following the initiation of playful talk, Tuncay, Giannis and Babis develop and sustain the play frame further: Tuncay turns to Giannis and highlights what Babis has just said and giggles (lines 6-7). His reference to 'Abdullah' (line 6) prompts Giannis to respond with a popular, at the time of the fieldwork, cry 'άμπε άμπε Κουρδιστάν' ('long live Kurdistan') (lines 9-10). In the next turn, Giannis' cry is immediately countered by Babis' reply 'άμπε' ('long live', line 11), that is latched onto the former's turn.

On this occasion, all three participants are demonstrating a common orientation towards the play frame developed: Tuncay probes Giannis to pay attention to Babis' self-reference to 'Abdullah', while Giannis and Babis function as a conversational duet, by complimenting each other's utterances (cf. Maybin 1994). The play frame is brought to a

close, as the three participants start writing what the teacher has written on the blackboard.

As a rule, however, pupils do not share a consistent orientation towards play frames introduced in the periphery of classroom discourse. Instead, as mentioned, they opt for constant shifts in footing to signal changes in their position vis-à-vis the development of the play frame. These shifts in footing indicate shifts in and out of the instructional frames at hand. For instance, in excerpt 5 below, through a series of shifts in footing, participants move in and out of the class management frame (i.e. copying what the teacher is writing on the blackboard) to engage in backstage playful talk and develop a play frame.

Excerpt 5 (context 1, 30/3/99, with the teacher for the class history project; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 1, Appendix V)

	Centre	Periphery
…		
5 Χουσείν	Κό:λλια(hh) .	
5 Husein	**Kollia**	
6Τουτζάι	((επαναλαμβάνει)) *f* ο άρχοντας ..	
6Tuncay	**((he repeats)) the ruler**	
7	((στον Χουσείν)) *acc* φύγε ρε=	
7	**((to Husein)) go away (re)=**	
8 Χουσείν		=*p* Κόλλια:: .
8Husein		**=Kollia**
9Τουτζάι	αυτός είπε . Κόλλια .	
9Tuncay	**he said Kollia**	
10Μπάμπης		*pp* Κόλλια φοράω .
10Babis		**Kollia I'm wearing**
11		Κόλλια .
11		**Kollia/kolya** [114]
12Χουσείν	*acc* α:: αυτός είπε .	
12Husein	**a he said**	
13	ο αριθμός .	*pp* (…)
13	**the number**	**(…)**
14		και εγώ έγραψα (…)=

[114] This phrase alludes to the connection between Giannis' surname 'Kollia' and 'kolya' (meaning necklace in the Turkish variety of Gazi) (cf. 4.5.1).

14

	and I wrote (…)=
15Τουτζάι	ατιατό::: .. [Κό::λλια
15Tuncay	**atiato [Kollia=**
16Χουσείν	[*p acc çiçi*
16Husein	**[tsitsi**
17 Χουσείν	*bana . çiçi bana*(hh)
17Husein	**bana tsitsi bana**

As excerpt 5 illustrates, Tuncay, one of the ratified participants, initially rejects the play frame: he raises the volume of his voice to repeat what he is copying and orders Husein to leave him alone (lines 6-7). In the next turns (lines 9, 15), however, he initiates a shift in footing to play, triggered by Husein's reference to Giannis' surname/nickname 'Kollia' (line 8). In similar vein, while Tuncay and Babis are co-constructing the play frame (lines 9-11), Husein, the initiator of the name-calling activity, makes a shift in footing back to the copying task (line 12-14). Nevertheless, in the subsequent turns, Tuncay's production of the nonsense cry 'atiato' triggers a re-alignment from Husein's part back to play: overlapping with Tuncay, Husein takes the next turn and produces a hybrid Turkish one-liner, that is comprised of the one-liners 'çiçi meme' ('cute boobs') and 'gel bana' ('come to me'), in rapid succession (lines 16-17).

The development of play and instructional frames in parallel indicates that the 'unofficial world of the peer culture' and 'the official world of the teacher's agenda' (Cazden 1988: 150) can co-exist and never criss-cross one another. As long as playful talk remains in the background (i.e. it is produced among peers in a low voice, fast pace and does not occupy long stretches of talk), it is rarely sanctioned. Once these ground rules are broken and playful talk becomes disruptive threatening the interactional classroom order, then teachers will intervene to stop it (6.3.5).

An exception to the rule is when teachers suspend instructional frames and backstage playful talk in turn becomes public dominating classroom discourse. On these occasions, positions are temporarily reversed: playful talk is transported to the foreground of classroom discourse, while the institutional frame is allocated a place in the background (e.g. Transcript 3, Appendix V, lines 1-13). In this context, the play frame becomes the main classroom frame and dominates discourse, until the lesson is resumed.

6.3.3 Frontstage playful talk

Frontstage playful talk emerges at the very centre of classroom talk. Unlike backstage playful talk, it is loud and public and it is not usually confined to a limited group of pupils sitting in close proximity. Following Goffman (1967, 1981), pupils and teachers alternate in the following participant positions: (1) *initiators* and (2) *ratified participants* (which can be further divided into *primary recipients* and *secondary recipients*).

Pupils initiate most of fronstage playful talk. Usually, playful talk is directed to a particular pupil (e.g. the butt of a joke or the target for teasing), although sometimes teachers may be assigned this position as well. On these occasions, the pupils and teachers are the *primary recipients* of playful talk, while the rest of the 4th graders and the researcher are the *secondary recipients*. When playful talk is diffused (i.e. it is not focused on a primary recipient), then the distinction between primary and secondary recipients does not hold: because of the public nature of fronstage talk in general (cf. MacBeth 1991), all present (pupils, teachers, the researcher) are *ratified participants*.

Besides pupils, teachers can also initiate fronstage playful talk. Overwhelmingly, this talk is directed to a particular pupil (a *primary recipient)*, as teachers exploit playful talk to

construct correction or disciplining sequences. This finding points to the role of playful talk as a possible teaching or class management strategy that teachers can use during instruction (see 7.2.1). On these occasions, although playful talk is directed to a primary recipient, it is simultaneously aimed at all the pupils present. Among the three teachers who taught the 4th graders, only the English language teacher resorted to diffused playful talk, that is directing her talk to the pupils as a 'cohort' (Macbeth 1991: 285) [115] (*field-notes*, 19/3/99). In fact, it has been argued that her use of diffused playful talk has contributed to the high frequency of frontstage playful talk that was identified in instructional interactions with the teacher in question (see 4.3.3).

In frontstage playful talk, pupils use contextualization cues (e.g. prosody) that are easily recognisable as cues for playful talk by both their teachers and fellow peers. When compared to cues employed in backstage playful talk (Tables 6.1a-6.1b, in 6.3.1), it emerges that pupils avoid using cues that are specific to the peer group and require shared background knowledge to interpret them (e.g. nicknames, cries, nonsense cries). The selective use of cues in fronstage playful talk indicates that pupils are sensitive to the presence of teachers as ratified recipients of their playful talk. Simultaneously, by exerting a high degree of control over the contextualization cues they use, they control teacher access to information regarding aspects of their peer group culture [116].

Table 6.2 below illustrates the different contextualization cues employed in verbal activities during frontstage playful talk and their users, as identified in the data.

---

[115] Macbeth (1991) identifies two structures of participation in classroom interactions: the teacher and 'the cohort', which comprises of all the pupils as a single group (: 285).

[116] In this context, it was not surprising that teachers were unfamiliar with meanings and uses of certain nicknames and one-liners, for instance (*survey interview 3*, 28/8/99).

Table 6.2. Contextualization cues and users per verbal activity in frontstage playful talk

Verbal activities	Contextualization cues	Users
Teasing	mock challenges, laughter, loud volume, shifts in stress and pitch, vowel elongation, repetition	Tuncay, Husein, Giannis, Babis, Vasia, Bahrye, Fanis
Name-calling	terms of verbal abuse, nonsense words, fast pace, laughter, loud volume, vowel elongation, shifts in stress, rhythm and rhyme	Tuncay, Husein, Giannis, Babis
Joking	playing upon form, such as using exaggeration and hyperbole, laughter, nonsense words	Tuncay, Costas, Fanis, Vasia, Babis
Language play	manipulating elements of languages (Greek, Turkish, English), such as exploiting similarities in sounds among words that have different meanings, but share identical or near-identical pronunciation, adding the same suffix to different first names, manipulating the stress of words and the pronunciation of consonants, laughter, code-switches, nonsense words	Tuncay, Babis, Costas, Husein, Fanis, Meltem, Vasia
Crying out	nonsense cries, nonsense words/sounds, laughter, impersonations, loud and declamatory manner, laughter, elongated vowels, glottal stops, sing-song intonation	Tuncay, Husein, Giannis, Babis

As a rule, frontstage playful talk is anchored onto prior talk and seconds that talk. While the examination of the system of turn-taking during formal classroom instruction has shown that pupils are constrained in self-selecting and making bids for the classroom floor (McHoul 1978), the data under study diverge from the reported norm: pupils routinely self-select and make such bids.

At a discourse level, by making use of clusters of contextualization cues (see Table 6.2 above) to initiate playful talk, pupils signal a reframing of the previous activity (Goffman 1974: 44- 45). Reframings are viewed as transformations of the existing activity into another one. Although a reframing may change an activity only slightly, it completely alters the participants' perception of the activity at hand (i.e. what they think is going on) (ibid). The data analysis indicates that the introduction of playful talk in discourse, via the use of clusters of contextualization cues, reframes the activity (usually an activity associated with the lesson or class management) into play. Through such reframings, pupils negotiate the construction of play frames and transport playful talk from the periphery to the very centre of classroom discourse.

As mentioned earlier in this section, it is usually pupils who initiate such reframings to play in frontstage playful talk, while their primary recipients are also other pupils. For instance, in excerpt 6 below, the form teacher has been explaining the aspirations' system in Modern Greek prior to its change in the early '80s (lines 1-2). Her use of the word 'πνεύματα' ('pneumata', 'aspirations', line 1) to refer to aspirations employed in word-initial vowels triggers an association with a homophonous word, which means spirits and other supernatural beings. Exploiting this association, Meltem self-selects to voice her fear of spirits and other supernatural beings (line 3). While the form teacher dismisses her contribution as irrelevant to their discussion (after all she was not referring to spirits but aspirations, see line 4), in the subsequent turn, Giannis self-selects and teases Meltem for expressing her fear of such beings (line 4).

Excerpt 6 (context 1, with the form teacher, 15/3/99; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 9)

1Δασκάλα	και πότε μπαίνανε αυτά εδώ ..
1Teacher	**then these things here were used**
2	που τα λέγανε πνεύματα ..
2	**which they called 'pnevmata' ((aspirations))** [117]
3	δε τα λέγανε τόνους=
3	**they didn't call them 'tonous' ((another type of stress))=**
3Μελτέμ	=*acc* ' μανούλα μου πνεύματα=
4Meltem	**=oh my gosh 'pnevmata' ((spirits))=**
4Δασκάλα	= *acc* δεν είναι αυτό που φαντάζεσαι .. .
4Teacher	**=it's not what you imagine**
5Γιάννης	*f* 'ε:::::::::::::: 'ντε[ντε:::::::
5Giannis	**e::::::::::::: de[de::::::: **
6Δασκάλα	[*acc* ((στη Μελτέμ)) και σταμάτα τώρα ...
6Teacher	**[((to Meltem)) and stop now**

Drawing on immediately recognisable cues from horror movies, Giannis introduces the teasing activity in discourse, by loudly imitating scary sounds in high pitch (line 5). By manipulating prosody (loudness, high pitch, stress) and vowel elongation, he conjures up shared associations of horror movies to introduce the play frame in the centre of classroom discourse. The initiation of the play frame reframes the activity (the teacher's explanation regarding the aspirations' system in Modern Greek) into play (a teasing activity). In this sense, the play frame is embedded in the lesson frame.

Pupils do not direct frontstage playful talk only to fellow pupils but also to their teachers, who then become primary recipients of such talk. In particular, frontstage playful talk can emerge as a next or a response to teachers' prior turn, usually a question. These are generally 'known-information questions' (Mehan 1985) and they have been identified in this study as one of the institutional features of classroom talk (cf. 4.2). They can be directed to the whole class as a 'cohort' (MacBeth 1991: 285) or to a specific pupil. On

[117] Because the ensuing play frame is based on the word play between the homophonous words 'πνεύματα' ('pnevmata'), these words have been retained in the English text and a translation has been provided in brackets, when it is clear which of the two meanings is being referred to.

these occasions, pupils can make use of contextualization cues, such as prosody, to address the teachers' questions. By exploiting these cues, pupils appear to be responding to the teachers' questions (by staying on topic), while simultaneously introducing a reframing of the current activity to play.

For instance, in excerpt 7 below, Giannis makes a bid for the classroom floor, by raising his index finger and calling the teacher (line 2). Besides competing for next speakership rights in order to respond to the teacher's question (line 1), Giannis' use of playful talk also generates a playful reframing of the activity.

Excerpt 7 (context 1, with the history project teacher, 30/3/99)

1Δασκάλα	*f* σε μια δημοκρατία . μπορεί κάθε άνθρωπος να μιλήσει ελεύθερα;=
1Teacher	**in a democracy can every man speak freely?=**
2Γιάννης	=*ff* ((με τραγουδιστή φωνή)) κυ-ρί::α:: .
2Giannis	**=((with sing-song intonation)) Miss**
3Τουτζάι	*p* κυ-ρί::α:: .
3Tuncay	**Miss**
4Δασκάλα	=Κώστα;
4Teacher	**=Costa?**

In this excerpt, Giannis' summons is comprised of a set of contextualization cues that is commonly employed in crying out activities in frontstage playful talk (i.e. loud volume, sing-song intonation, glottal stop, stress and elongated vowels) (see Table 6.2, in this section). By resorting to these cues, he playfully reframes the interaction. Although the reframing does not alter the activity greatly (it is still a summons), it does attract a playful uptake by Tuncay (line 3). This means that the summons is perceived differently (i.e. it is seen as an attempt for play), especially since it differs from the summons pupils usually employ to compete for the interactional floor: calling the teacher by making use of

successive 'κυρία' ('Ms') produced in fast pace, while quickly swaying the index finger (*field-notes*, 1/2/99).

Although pupils introduce most of the frontstage playful talk in discourse, teachers may occasionally take up the position of the initiator as well. Usually, their contributions are short and they never exceed one turn. On these occasions, pupils not only take up the positions of recipients of playful talk as fronstage talk, but also actively participate in maintaining the play frame. In other words, teacher-led initiations of playful talk overwhelmingly trigger more playful talk in discourse from the pupils' part (but not from the teacher's part) (cf. Baynham 1996; see also 6.3.5).

For instance, in excerpt 8 below, the English language teacher is pursuing her explanation regarding the absence of plural case-marking in adjectives in English, by giving incorrect examples of adjectives with plural case-marking (e.g. 'talls' and 'smalls' (lines 1, 3). She sums up her exemplification by saying that such mistakes are 'very silly mistakes' ('μεγάλη κοτσάνα') to make (line 5).

Excerpt 8 (context 1, with the English language teacher, 26/4/99, for a complete Transcript see Transcript 6 Appendix V)

1Δασκάλα	*f* δεν μπορώ να βάλω σ' ένα επίθετο 'ες' . και να πω .. 'talls' .
1Teacher	**I can't add an 's' to an adjective and say 'talls'**
2Χουσείν	((επαναλαμβάνει ό,τι είπε η δασκάλα)) τολς .
2Husein	**((repeats what the teacher said)) tols**
3Ελένη	ή- .. 'smalls' .
3Eleni	**or 'smalls'**
4Χουσείν	((επαναλαμβάνει ό,τι είπε η δασκάλα)) τσοϊτσς .
4Husein	**((repeats what the teacher said)) choichs**
5Ελένη	τί είναι; .. .. [είναι . μεγά:λη . κοτσάνα
5Eleni	**what would that be? [it would be a very silly mistake**
6Κώστας	[η Βάσια ..
6Costas	**[Vasia**
7Τουτζάι	hhh η:: (hh)Βάσια .. (hh)είπε-=
7Tuncay	**Vasia made-=**

8Χουσείν	=*f* μεγά::λη κοτσάνα ..
8Husein	**=a very silly mistake**
9( )	*p* hhhh
9( )	**hhhh**
10Δασκάλα	*f* λοιπόν .
10Teacher	**right**

By making use of the mild term of jocular abuse 'κοτσάνα' ('a silly mistake'), the teacher is trying to precipitate possible mistakes pupils might make in English. Simultaneously, the use of this particular cue reframes the activity to play. Although the reframing does not change greatly the activity (it is still an assessment), it does change the pupils' perception of what is going on. As the following turns illustrate, it triggers a teasing activity in discourse (lines 6- 8).

When compared with contextualization cues pupils employ in playful talk as frontstage talk, teachers exhibit a more limited range of cues, namely, mock threats, prosody and mild terms of jocular abuse (6.3.5). The use of this limited range of cues is attributed to the significantly less playful talk they initiate in discourse as well as their limited participation in the construction of play frames during whole-group instruction (context 1).

6.3.4 Play frames as embedded and forked frames

Play frames in frontstage playful talk usually emerge as embedded frames, which may occasionally develop into forked frames. In particular, play frames are most frequently embedded in instructional frames and less frequently in other socio-relational frames (e.g. greetings/leavings, occasions of small-talk, late-comers).

Although instructional frames dominate classroom discourse (in whole-group interactions), via shifts to play, participants negotiate a central place for playful talk in the official classroom space. On these occasions, play frames temporarily become the main frames in discourse. Frontstage playful talk initiated by pupils usually elicits the participation of other pupils, regardless of where they are sitting (contra backstage playful talk, 6.3.1). These pupils then take up the position of ratified participants, who respond to the introduction of the play frame, by sustaining it further.

From their part, teachers respond to the initiation of playful talk in discourse, by usually resisting shifts to play (cf. Ribeiro 1996, for similar findings in doctor-patient communication). They register their resistance, by avoiding participating in the construction of the play frame, while introducing shifts to the instructional frame at hand. Most frequently, teacher-led renegotiations of the main classroom frame to instruction result to its swift re-establishment. In cases where pupils attempt to sustain the play frame for a couple of turns, after the teachers' initial frame shift, teachers continue reintroducing shifts to the instructional frame. In the end, pupils are likely to abandon playful talk and revert to the instructional frame at hand, as proposed by the teachers.

For example, in excerpt 9, the teacher opens the bidding for the classroom floor by requesting that one of the pupils comes to the blackboard to do a maths exercise. Fanis makes a bid, by immediately raising his index finger and repeatedly calling out the teacher, thereby signalling his eagerness to do the exercise. His summons to the teacher, however, triggers playful talk, as Babis initiates a frame shift to play in discourse (lines 3-5).

Excerpt 8 (context 1, 5/3/99, with the form teacher)

1Δασκάλα	ποιός θα σηκωθεί να κάνει το πρώτο πρόβλημα [στον πίκανα;
1Teacher	**who will come to the blackboard to do the [first exercise?**
2Φάνης	[*acc f* γώ- γώ- . κυρία κυρία=
2Fanis	**[I I ((will)) Miss Miss=**
3Μπάμπης	=*f acc* ί-α: ί-α:
3Babis	**=ia ia**
4Μπαχριέ	*ff acc* μπί-α: μπί-α:
4Bahrye	**bia bia**
5Μπάμπης	*f acc* μπί-α: [μπί-α: . μπίμπα μπίμπα μπίμπα ..
5Babis	**bia [bia biba biba biba**
6Κώστας	[(...)
6Costas	[(**...**)
7Δασκάλα	Κώστα μου .. στον πίνακα θα το κάνουμε ..
7Teacher	**(my) Costas we'll do it on the blackboard**
8Γιάννης	*acc* μ' αυτό τον τρόπο . είπε η δασκάλα ..
8Giannis	**the teacher said we'll do it that way**

As excerpt 9 shows, through repetition, Babis and Bahrye anchor their playful talk onto Fanis' summons. In the process, they initiate and co-construct a play frame in the very centre of classroom talk, thereby proposing a temporary reframing of the activity from negotiating next speakership rights to play. The contextualization cues they employ to build the play frame (nonsense cries, delivered loudly and in fast pace) are reminiscent of the way name-calling activities are introduced and delivered in non-institutionally oriented contexts (5.2.1). On this occasion, rather than using nicknames, such as 'Κόλλια' ('Kollia') and 'Μπεμπιλίνο' ('Babilino'), participants employ nonsense sounds ('ia' and 'bia'), which rhyme with the word 'kyria' (Miss) and nonsense words ('biba') (lines 3-5). As argued (6.3.3), these cues Babis and Bahrye employ to frame playful talk in this excerpt are immediately recognisable by both pupils and the teacher, unlike, for instance, nicknames.

Consistent with teacher responses to frontstage playful talk, however, the teacher avoids contributing to playful talk. Instead, in the following turn (line 6), she re-orients classroom talk to instruction, by addressing what appears to be a clarification question by Costas (lines 6-7). As far as the pupils engaged in playful talk are concerned, they abandon further departures from the class management frame at hand and 'sail with the framing winds' (Tannen 1986: 92), as set by the teacher.

Overall, the pupils' re-orientation to the instructional frame as the main frame indicates that such frames shifts (from instruction to play and back) tend to be achieved smoothly, as if playful talk were an integral part of classroom discourse. In other words, even though teachers resist frame shifts to play by sustaining the instructional frames under way, there seems to be an underlying agreement from both parties (teachers and pupils) regarding the emergence of frontstage playful talk: while not participating in it, teachers tolerate its production in the centre of classroom talk.

This is collaborated by the fact that regardless of its public character, teachers rarely sanction frontstage playful talk (unless they judge it disruptive to classroom order) (*foot-notes*, 1/2/99). From their part, pupils can initiate and develop shifts to play as long as they are willing to re-orient to instruction soon after. This implies that teachers do not view frontstage playful talk as inherently disruptive. Instead, its tolerance could be seen as a means of providing a brief interlude to instruction and alleviating feelings of stress or boredom (7.1).

Pupil-initiated shifts to play, however, do not elicit consistent responses by teachers. Although teachers appear to tolerate frontstage playful talk, sometimes their reframing of the interaction back to instruction reveals a high degree of irritation regarding the emergence frontstage playful talk in discourse and an urgency to get back to the 'real' classroom business (i.e. instruction). On these occasions, teachers exploit discourse markers, such as 'λοιπόν' ('so, well'), 'άρα' ('therefore'), followed by prosodic cues (loudness and fast pace), as well as summons of a 'named addressee' (usually one of the pupils sustaining the play frame) (MacBeth 1991: 297). The purpose of these discourse markers is to bring playful talk to an abrupt end and to re-establish the instructional frame as the main frame in classroom discourse (e.g. Transcript 6, lines 8 and 10 respectively, Appendix V).

While teacher-led reframings are usually performed smoothly, as pupils are likely to abandon the play frame and re-orient to the instructional frame proposed by the teacher, sometimes play and instructional frames can occur simultaneously. In other words, one group (exclusively pupils) are pursuing the play frame, where as another group (teachers and sometimes pupils) are maintaining the instructional frame. Unlike most instances of frontstage playful talk, where pupils abandon the play frame and revert to the instructional frame as set by the teacher, on these occasions, pupils sustain the play frames over more than a few turns. It is worth noting, however, that pupils do not exhibit a consistent orientation towards a particular frame: they may shift footing from play to instruction and back to play, as the interaction develops.

The data analysis indicates that sequences of reproach and metalinguistic discussions (i.e. talk about aspects of language) trigger most instances of simultaneous frame construction of instructional and play frames. On these occasions, by maintaining the play frame against teacher-led attempts to firmly re-establish the instructional frame as the main frame, pupils are resisting teacher control over frame development.

In particular, teacher-initiated sequences of reproach generate simultaneous frames, as pupils often resort to frontstage playful talk (usually teasing) to lend a hand in the management of classroom discipline (cf. Rampton 1999) [118]. Research has shown that forms of discord among pupils or between teachers and pupils trigger sequences of reproach during instruction. These are regarded as enduring features of classroom life, regardless of teachers' efforts to contain them and minimise their (potentially) disruptive effect on the classroom order (MacBeth 1990: 192).

The data analysis indicates that pupil intervention, through playful talk, with the purpose of supplementing teacher-led efforts to restore the classroom order, has the following participant structure: a group of pupils, who are acting as co-participants, initiate and maintain the play frame, while the teacher is pursuing the sequence of reproach [119]. In other words, pupils and teachers retain a consistent orientation towards each frame they choose to advance. This means that they do not make shifts in footing to support the other frame (whether that is the instructional or play frame), as the exchange develops. Nevertheless, by maintaining their firm orientation towards instructional frames, teachers

---

[118] Note that teachers may also exploit playful talk to restore classroom order (6.3.5). This could explain the high degree of tolerance they are likely to show towards the use of playful talk in pupils' interventions during sequences of reproach (*field-notes*, 19/3/99).

[119] Researchers on teasing among peers have demonstrated the use of teasing as a form of social control (Eder 1991; for a discussion, see 1.7.2).

manage to curtail the development of play frames in discourse: in the end, play frames developed simultaneously with instructional frames trial off, as pupils re-orient to the latter.

For instance, in excerpt 10 below, the English language teacher is disciplining Husein for misbehaving (line 5).

Excerpt 10 (context 1, 19/3/99; with the English foreign language teacher; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 8, Appendix IV)

5Δασκάλα	= Χουσείν . *acc* πάρτο βιβλίο σου κ' έλα δω=
5Teacher	**=Husein take your book and come ((and sit over)) here=**
6Βάσια	= Χουσεί::ν . πάρε το βιβλίο σου κ' έλα εδώ::hh=
6Vasia	**=Husein take your book and come ((and sit over)) here=**
7Κώστας	=*f* τυχερέ: Χουσεί:ν=
7Costas	**=lucky you Husein=**
8Δασκάλα	=*acc* ΕΛΑ ΔΩ=
8Teacher	**=come ((and sit over)) here=**
	((Ο Χουσείν σηκώνεται και πάει να αλλάξει θέση))
	((Husein gets up to change seats))
9Χουσείν	=*acc* (hh) ποιά; (hh)ποιά; ((θέση))
9Husein	**=which one? which one? ((which seat))**
10Μπάμπης	*p* τυχερέ [Χουσείν
10Babis	**lucky [you Husein**
11Τουτζάι	[ω- ω- *acc* ποιά ποιά; α:::.
11Tuncay	**[oh oh which ((one)) which ((one))? ah**
12Φάνης	Τούτζα . *acc* ποιά ποιά; . ((ο Χουσείν κάνει πως σηκώνεται
12Fanis	**Tunca which one which one? . ((Husein pretends to be standing up**
13	από τη θέση του)) α- . *f* με κυνηγάει κυρία ..
13	**from his seat)) ah he's after me Miss**
	((Επικρατεί ησυχία καθώς οι μαθητές συνεχίζουν την άσκηση που τους είχα βάλει η δασκάλα))
	((The pupils are silent as they resume the exercise the teacher has assigned))

As excerpt 10 illustrates, the teacher's disciplinary remarks generate the subsequent teasing activity by Vasia with Husein as its target. Vasia latches onto the teacher's reproach and repeats her remarks, by making use of syntactic repetition with minor alterations of her mode of delivery (i.e. vowel elongation and giggling) (line 6). Her

contribution triggers a frame shift in talk from the teacher's serious reproach to playful teasing, while simultaneously appearing to contribute to Husein's disciplining.

To be more precise, while the teacher is putting forth a class management frame, through the introduction of the sequence of reproach (line 5), Vasia initiates a play frame (line 6). Throughout the development of the play frame, the teacher sustains her orientation towards the class management frame: in line 8, she repeats her order that Husein changes seats immediately ('έλα δω', 'come ((and sit)) over here'). Moreover, she avoids taking part in the play frame and does not intervene to address Fanis' call ('με κυνηγάει κυρία', 'he's after me Miss', line 13). Simultaneously, Vasia's teasing (line 6) elicits the participation of other pupils (i.e. Costas (line 7), Babis (line 10), Tuncay (line 11) and Fanis (lines 12-13) as well as that of the target (Husein, line 9).

As Tannen ([1979]1993) argues, however, 'each frame entails ways of behaving that potentially conflict with the demands of other frames' (: 67). In this context, by engaging in frontstage playful talk (such as teasing) to lend a hand in the management of classroom discipline, pupils are in fact generating more disorder. If the aim of sequences of reproach is to discipline the guilty party, whose conduct exhibits a departure from the norm (such as talking to one's neighbour rather than doing the assigned task), and re-establish the institutional frame as the main classroom frame for all, then play frames hinder its swift re-establishment.

As stated at the beginning of this section, frontstage playful talk can occasionally generate forked frames. Forked frames are identified as instances during which instructional and play frame start off as simultaneous frames in the centre of classroom

talk [120]. As the interaction develops, however, the sustained simultaneous development of the two frames creates a 'schism' in the main classroom floor into two main classroom floors (cf. Cazden 1988). It is this split of the main classroom floor to two that distinguishes occasions of schism from other instances of simultaneous frame development discussed earlier in this section.

When a schism in classroom discourse occurs, instead of letting the play frame trail off, pupils actively sustain it over a number of turns, while the teacher and other pupils are engaged in maintaining the instructional frame. In addition, the schism in classroom discourse is reinforced by the high frequency of overlapping talk among participants and the volubility of their contributions. Occasions of schism, however, seldom escalate into conflict: via teacher-led shifts to the instructional frame, as with other occasions of simultaneous frame development, the play frame is brought to a close and the single classroom floor is restored.

For instance, in Transcript 9 (Appendix V), Giannis' initiation of the play frame (line 5) attracts the active participation of several of his classmates. Drawing on the meaning of 'πνεύματα' ('pneumata', i.e. spirits and supernatural beings), as alluded to by Meltem (line 3), Giannis and Vaisia proceed to make loud, scary sounds of what appear to be imitations of ghosts and other supernatural beings lifted from horror films (Giannis lines 5, 10-11 and Vasia line 12). In the ensuing turns, the play frame is sustained by the repetition of the words 'πνεύμα/πνεύματα' ('pnevma/pnevmata', singular/plural forms)

[120] Indeed, forked frames differ from parallel frames (6.3.2) by virtue of the fact that they are triggered in the very centre of classroom discourse.

(see Costas lines 14, 20, 24, 35-36; Giannis lines 16, 18, 27, 29; Meltem lines 26, Vasia 31, 33) [121].

While this group of pupils is engaging in maintaining the play frame, the teacher and some of the other pupils (e.g. Bahrye and temporarily Vasia) sustain the instructional frame, by discussing the different meanings of the word 'πνεύμα' ('pnevma'). Their contributions, which aim at re-establishing the instructional frame as the only main frame, however, are either ignored or overlapped (e.g. the teacher's in line 34 and Bahrye's in lines 9, 30, 32), as the play frame develops in full swing. In other words, unlike occasions of simultaneous frame development, in instances of schism, playful talk does not seem to subside.

As stated, similar to other occasions of simultaneous frame development, by initiating and sustaining a schism of the main classroom floor, pupils are challenging teacher authority and renegotiating power at a local (micro-interactional) level (cf. Candela 1999). In addition, via shifts to play, pupils are negotiating a social order of their own as an alternative to the classroom order proposed by teachers, where sustained shifts to play are resisted (7.1.1).

6.3.5 The teacher vis-à-vis playful talk during whole-group instruction

As discussed (4.2.2), teachers feature as major participants in whole-group instruction (context 1), which calls for the investigation of teacher responses to backstage and

[121] As stated, the main contextualization cues used to build this play frame are prosodic cues associated with scary sounds and the repetition of the word 'pnevma'. Because Greek-Turkish bilinguals held strong beliefs about the existence of benevolent and malevolent supernatural beings that played a decisive role in their everyday life (cf. 3.1.5), one may wonder to what extent the use of such cues by Greek-speaking monolinguals for play could have been seen as attempts to ridicule the formers' beliefs. This may serve to explain why in this example Greek-Turkish bilinguals (with the exception of Meltem's brief involvement, line 26) avoid participating in the construction of the play frame (for a discussion, see 7.1.4, 7.2.2).

frontstage playful talk further. As a rule, teachers seldom intervene to stop playful backstage talk, unless: (1) they are explicitly asked to and (2) they deem that such talk is becoming disruptive and seriously threatens to jeopardise the classroom order.

In the first case, participants in playful talk produced in the margins of classroom discourse may initiate shifts in footing away from the play frame under way in order to complain to the teacher about something their co-participants said to them during the construction of the play frame. Through such shifts in footing, what starts as private pupil-pupil talk is transformed into public pupil-teacher talk and it is transferred in the centre of classroom discourse.

In general, teachers tend to resist such solicitations for intervention, by ignoring the caller and sustaining the instructional frame. When teachers do intervene, they avoid taking sides and engaging in lengthy discussions regarding pupil conduct. Instead, they resort to quick disciplinary remarks that target a particular pupil (often the one who has complained) for disrupting the classroom order, before resuming the instructional frame. Regardless of their brevity, such teacher interventions, however, tend to bring the preceding playful talk to a stop (at least temporarily), as pupils shift back to instruction.

For instance, in excerpt 11 below, Tuncay, who has been participating in the construction a play frame in the margins of classroom discourse (line 10), complains to the teacher that Babis is repeating the name 'Abdullah' all the time (lines 12-13) [122]. By directly

[122] When contextualization cues associated with the Öcalan incident (e.g. 'Abdullah', 'Kurdistan', 4.5.5) were employed by Greek-speaking monolinguals, they tended to elicit ambiguous responses by Greek-Turkish bilinguals. Although Greek-Turkish bilinguals employed similar cues in playful talk as well, they often reacted to their use by Greek-speaking monolinguals and complained to the teacher about it (e.g.

addressing the teacher ('κυρία', 'Miss') and expressing his complaint loudly ('πέστου αυτουνού όλα Αμπντουλάχ λέει' 'tell him he says Abdullah all the time'), Tuncay initiates a shift in footing away from the play frame and transforms private pupil-pupil talk into public teacher-pupil talk.

Excerpt 11 (context 1, 30/3/99; with the teacher for the class history project; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 4, Appendix V)

Centre		Periphery
11Τουτζάι	*f* α::: *acc* κυρία .. πέστου αυτουνού ..	
11Tuncay	**ah Miss tell him**	
12	όλο- . Αμπντουλάχ λέει ..	
12	**he is saying Abdullah all the time**	
13		α- *p* Κουρδιστάν hh
13		**ah Kurdistan hh**
14Γιάννης	το παιδί ((ο Μπάμπης)) δεν είναι καλά=	
14Giannis	**the boy ((Babis)) is not well=**	
15Δασκάλα	=*ff* τί:: γίνεται Τουτζάι . εκεί ακριβώς;	
15Teacher	**=exactly what's going on there Tuncay?**	
16Τουτζάι	*p* hhhh	
16Tuncay	**hhhh**	

As excerpt 11 demonstrates, consistent with teacher conduct identified in the data, in the following turns, the teacher's disciplinary summons targets Tuncay as the culprit for disrupting classroom order. In addition, she focuses her disciplinary remarks on the noise the boys sitting on that side of the classroom (identified as 'εκεί', 'there') are making (line 15).

One explanation to account for the teachers' resistance to solicitations to intervene in backstage playful talk has to do with the reported strategy of avoiding taking sides in disputes among peers (*survey interview 3*, 28/8/99). Even when the party complaining to

---

Transcript 4, lines 11- 12, in Appendix V). These findings highlight the issue of 'entitlement' (who has the right to use certain cues), which is explored further in 7.2.1.

the teacher attempts to provide an account that justifies the complaint made, teachers still resist taking part in the dispute. Instead, by focusing their disciplinary remarks on the disruptive effect of the pupils' talk, they are sending the message that such backstage talk is inappropriate and should stop. This message is further enhanced by teachers' quick shifts back to instruction, after the completion of their reproach.

Pupils who issue such complaints to teachers, however, do not seem to expect them to actually intervene on their behalf. In fact, without waiting for the teacher intervention, pupils are likely to initiate a new shift in footing, this time back to the initial play frame (e.g. line 13, in excerpt 11 above) [123]. As it has been argued (5.5.4), appeals to teacher intervention function as ritual complaints rather than real complaints. As the uptake of these complaints illustrates (i.e. reintroduction of playful talk in discourse), their purpose is not for teachers to actually intervene and discipline the perpetrator. Instead, their purpose appears to be to renegotiate peer group power relations and hierarchies among peer group members (see 7.1.2, for a discussion).

Overall, teachers tolerate shifts to play frames in the centre of classroom discourse, thereby making playful talk an enduring feature of classroom talk (cf. 6.3.4). When teachers occasionally initiate or participate in frontstage playful talk, however, their contributions are limited to single turns. These may take the form of either an initiation or a response to playful talk produced by the pupils. While teachers' playful talk may in turn elicit an uptake from the part of the pupils (more playful talk and/or laughter), teachers

[123] This finding displays similarities with instances of name-calling during free time: on these occasions both the teachers and the researcher were called in to intervene on behalf of the target of name-calling (for instance, Meltem, Transcript 2, lines 30- 31, Appendix IV) or hair-pulling (for instance, Vasia, Transcript 4, line 33, Appendix IV). The party who complained, however, did not actually wait for teacher or researcher intervention. Instead, in the subsequent turns, the party in question resumed playful talk.

consistently avoid sustaining the play frame, by responding to the pupils' uptake playfully. Instead, they introduce shifts to the instructional frame at hand.

Via their limited contributions, teachers are signalling that they regard their initiation of and participation in frontstage playful talk as the exception rather than the norm. In other words, even though they show an overall tolerance towards the production of playful talk during instruction by their pupils, they are reluctant to produce more playful talk themselves. These practices suggest that teachers assign a marginal position to playful talk during the lesson, which is collaborated by the fact that playful talk is usually used as a resource only on specific occasions (cf. Baynham 1996).

On this issue, specific occasions of teacher uses of playful talk are most commonly found in sequences of reproach. These sequences of reproach are frequently triggered by a play frame, which pupils have introduced in discourse (e.g. teasing, joking). In response, teachers build their playful talk by making use of mock threats such as 'χ (corresponding to the name of a pupil) θα σε δείρω' ('x you're in for a good smacking') (see Transcript 10, line 6). In this particular example, the teacher produces her mock threat 'Κώστα θα σε δεί::-ρω' (Costa you're in for a good beating') with the same rhythmic intonation that the two boys (Costas and Tuncay) employed in their playful summons directed at Nontas ('Νώ::-ντα', lines 2-3).

In her study on Greek verbal play among adults and children, Hirschon (1992) characterises mock threats as:

> statements of intention that specify some kind of violent sanction upon a tiny offender but that are seldom carried out (: 39).

In this respect, the dissociation between words and actions in Greek means that these mock threats are seen as ritual threats: teachers never physically punish the pupil to whom they direct their threats. Instead, mock threats in this context function as attempts on the teachers' part to mitigate their disciplinary remarks vis-à-vis the pupil's (minor) conversational transgression (associated in our case with the production of frontstage playful talk) (cf. Sifianou 1992).

Besides exploiting frontstage playful talk in sequences of reproach as a response to prior playful talk, teachers may occasionally introduce play frames in discourse (cf. Baynham 1996; also 6.3.3). Occasions that may trigger teacher-led shifts to play are assessments. Teacher-led shifts to play, however, can provide opportunities for pupils to play a more active role in negotiating the frame in the centre of classroom discourse. As stated (6.3.3), teacher-led initiations of playful talk tend to trigger an uptake on the pupils' part (e.g. Transcript 6, lines 6-9, 11, in Appendix V). Pupils maintain the play frame, by repeating the cues teachers have used in their playful talk (such as mild terms of jocular abuse). Often, these cues invoke informal talk among peers, which is incongruent with the teacher talk preceding the use of the cues in question. This incongruence in teacher talk triggers the pupils' uptake and further enhances the play frame (cf. Baynham 1996; Lytra 2002a).

Pupil uptake can highlight the possible hazards of teacher-led playful talk: cues invoking informal talk among peers that teachers employ may trigger and sustain more playful talk, impeding the trailing off of playful talk and the resumption of the instructional frame. As a result, to bring the play frame to a close, teachers need to initiate repeated

shifts to the instructional frame, by using discourse markers, such as 'λοιπόν' ('so') and 'άρα' ('therefore') and summoning a 'named addressee' (usually one of the pupils sustaining the play frame) (MacBeth 1991: 297). On their part, pupils may challenge these shifts to the instructional frame and temporarily sustain the play frame [124].

6.4 Playful talk during small-group instruction: embedded frames

Framing playful talk during small-group instruction (context 2) shares similarities with framing frontstage and backstage playful talk (context 1) as well as framing task-based interactions during free time (context 4). This attributes mixed characteristics to play frames during small-group instruction, as these have been identified in play frames emerging during whole-group instruction (context 1) and free time (context 4). In particular, similar to frontstage playful talk (context 1) and task-based interactions during free time (context 4), play frames during small-group instruction (context 2) are embedded in instructional frames, notably task-related frames. Task-related frames are the main frames. They are positioned in the centre of the small-group members' talk from which participants initiate departures to playful talk, via frame shifts. When these departures occur, play frames are transported in the centre of the small-group members' talk.

Unlike context 1, however, these departures to playful talk are frequent, as pupils are more willing and able to initiate and sustain the play frames, since, instead of teachers it

[124] Indeed, the possibility of triggering more playful talk and maintaining the play frame points to another reason why teachers avoid producing frontstage playful talk.

is fellow pupils who propose the task-related frames in discourse (cf. 6.2) [125]. Due to the monitoring rather than orchestrating role of the teacher, the pupils who have been assigned to the small-group have to negotiate control over topic and frame development, the outcome of which determines the content and organisation of the tasks (cf. Diamondstone 1999). As far as participation in the tasks is concerned, it is limited to the members of the small-group (cf. backstage playful talk). Teachers and (occasionally) the researcher monitor the progression of the tasks, address clarification questions, settle disagreements and issue reproaches, when pupil talk becomes loud and disruptive (after all, tasks must be completed as quietly as possible within a given time frame).

In task-based instruction, besides topic and frame development, pupils need to negotiate different roles (e.g. that of 'the group secretary', who is responsible for writing down the ideas of the other group members) and use of resources, such as dictionaries, encyclopaedias and writing materials. The data indicate that shifts to play can become a means to (re-)negotiate roles and undermine bids for authority and status made by pupils, especially by those pupils who attempt to control speaking turns and assume teacher-like roles (cf. Diamondstone 1999; also 6.2).

For instance, in Transcript 11 (Appendix V), Giannis has taken up the role of the group secretary, while Tuncay, Babis and Husein are brainstorming for ideas to include in the writing task (an essay). In the Transcript in question, it is Tuncay and Husein, who

[125] As discussed (4.2.2- 4.2.3), the participant parameter (the monitoring role of the teacher) and the task parameter (the pupils' engagement in subject-matter tasks, such as collaborative writing, which were assigned by the teacher) distinguish small-group (context 2) from whole-group instruction (context 1).

initiate and sustain most of the frame shifts to play, while Giannis and Babis put forth most of the task-related frames.

More specifically, Tuncay introduces shifts to play by referring to those asking money from the state to support pupil reading practices as 'ζητιάνοι και γύφτοι' ('beggars and gypsies', lines 4-6). The references to 'beggars and gypsies', however, are incongruous with the issues pupils have been asked to discuss in their essay, thereby eliciting laughter (Babis and Giannis in lines 7-8 respectively) and triggering more playful talk in discourse (the name-calling activity in line 8). On his part, Husein registers his shared orientation towards the play frames introduced by Tuncay through sustained laughter and frame shifts to play (e.g. the name-calling in line 25 and the crying-out in line 42).

These repeated shifts to play, however, elicit limited participation by Giannis and Babis (see lines 7-8, 26), who support the task-related frames against Tuncay and Husein's efforts to revert to play. In fact, the formers' efforts to sustain the task-related frames are frequently undermined by the latter, via shifts to playful talk. For instance, Babis' repeated suggestions that Giannis starts a new paragraph are either overlapped by playful talk (lines 23-24) or they trigger more playful talk in discourse (lines 43-44). As a result, the four boys seem to be functioning as conversational duets, but each pair is supporting competing frames (cf. Maybin 1994).

Through repeated shifts to play, one conversational duet appears to be challenging the other pupils' control over topic and frame development (cf. teacher-pupil interactions during frontstage playful talk, 6.4). By avoiding participation in playful talk and (almost) consistently supporting the development of the task-related frames, the other

conversational duet is registering its disagreement with such shifts to play (cf. teacher response during playful talk as frontstage talk, 6.4). The sustained orientation towards competing frames, however, may lead to a conflict of frames that can have consequences for the assigned task: this is reflected in the fact that usually these tasks tend to advance at a slow pace and their completion goes beyond the initial deadline (set by the teacher).

To construct play frames during small-group instruction, pupils rely on similar contextualization cues employed in interactions during free time (see Tables 5.1a-5.1b, in 5.1) and backstage playful talk (see Tables 6.1a-6.1b, in 6.3.1). In particular, pupils exploit cues, such as nicknames, cries, nonsense cries, one-liners and songs to initiate and maintain teasing, joking, crying-out and singing activities. Table 6.3 below illustrates the different contextualization cues employed in playful talk during small-group instruction and their users, as identified in the data.

Table 6.3. Contextualization cues and users per verbal activity in playful talk during small-group instruction

Verbal activities	Contextualization cues	Users
Teasing	mock challenges, commands, orders, one-liners, terms of verbal abuse, nicknames, laughter	Tuncay, Husein, Giannis, Babis
Name-calling	nicknames, cries, terms of verbal abuse, fast pace, laughter, low volume, vowel elongation, shifts in stress, rhythm and rhyme	Tuncay, Husein, Giannis, Babis
Joking	playing upon form, such as using exaggeration and hyperbole, laughter, incongruous references	Babis, Tuncay
Singing	fragments of songs	Babis
Language play	manipulating elements of language (Greek), laughter	Tuncay
Crying out	media- inspired cries, nonsense cries, laughter, low	Tuncay, Husein, Giannis, Babis

	volume	

Overall, the examination of Table 6.3 reveals that similar clusters of cues can surface in pupil-pupil talk across interactional contexts, notably when teachers are absent (contexts 4-5, during free time in the classroom), have a supervisory role (context 6, in the playground) or a monitoring role (context 2, during small-group instruction). In addition, it complements claims made in this thesis that the participant parameter (in particular the teacher figure) emerges as the most important variable in determining the position of contexts along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum and by extension the frequency of playful talk in the data (see 4.2.5, 4.3.1- 4.3.2).

6.5 Playful talk during lunchtime

As discussed (4.3.1-4.3.2), lunchtime interactions (context 3) triggered a low frequency of playful talk in discourse. It was argued that the setting and participant parameters influenced the limited production of playful talk during lunchtime. As far as the setting parameter is concerned, this included the public setting of the school's dining hall, which enforced a set of rules regarding appropriate pupil conduct, and the limited time allocated to having lunch. Concerning the participant parameter, this encompassed the role of teachers in serving lunch and supervising the activity as well as the cross-age pupil groupings, which were formed, during lunchtime [126].

In particular, although pupils were free to sit with whomever they wanted and even change seats in the middle of lunch, they had to observe certain rules of conduct that had been set and were monitored by teachers. These rules of conduct had led to the

[126] Although 4th grader did sit with each other during lunchtime, they also had lunch with friends from other grades (see Table 2.1, 2.4; also *field-notes* 27/1/99).

establishment of the following practices during lunchtime: pupils were expected to eat in an orderly manner, clean behind them and leave the dining hall, as soon as they finished. Teachers, on the other hand, made sure that these rules were observed; otherwise, they disciplined pupils for failing to follow them (e.g. Transcript 12, line 15, Appendix V). In other words, the dining hall was not viewed as the appropriate setting for play. Instead, it was seen as a place reserved for having lunch only and pupils were discouraged to linger about, after they had finished eating (*field-notes* 27/1/99).

Given these practices, it is not surprising that when playful talk emerges in discourse, it tends to be limited to two-party participation (an initiation and a response) and seldom elicits the participation of other peer group members (cf. interactions in the playground during free time, in 5.5). Moreover, the data show that playful talk during lunchtime is often triggered by something the pupils are eating on the day of the tape-recording or have eaten in the past. This is due to the fact that play frames are initiated and developed against a backdrop of activities associated with having lunch (e.g. standing in the queue to get one's lunch, choosing a seat, consuming food, getting a second helping). In other words, having lunch is the main frame in which play frames are embedded (cf. task-related frames during small-group instruction, 6.4 and during free time, 5.5). Play frames, in turn, emerge as shifts from the lunch frame in question.

Overall, play frames occur before and after peer group members consume their lunch and during intervals. For example, in excerpt 12 below, Vasia had had a second helping and has just joined Tuncay, Fanis, Husein and Eleni, with whom she is having lunch, when

Tuncay initiates a play frame. The play frame is triggered by Vasia's choice of food (rice and chicken, but not salad) for her second helping (line 1).

Excerpt 12 (context 3, 17/2/99)

	((Η Βάσια κάθεται στη θέση της, ο Τουτζάι σταματά να τρώει και κοιτά το πιάτο της))
	((Vasia sits down, Tuncay stops eating and looks at her plate))
1Τουτζάι	*f acc* σαλάτα γιατί δε μπή::ρες; .
1Tuncay	**why didn't you get any salad?**
2Βάσια	*f acc* ρύζι γιατί δε μπή::ρες; [2.5sec]
2Vasia	**why didn't you get any rice?**
	((Η Βάσια αρχίζει να τρώει))
	((Vasia starts eating))
3Τουτζάι	*f acc* αυτή ((Ελένη)) γιατί δε μπαίρνει κοτόπουλο; .. ..
3Tuncay	**she ((Eleni)) why didn't she get any chicken?**
4Βάσια	*p* ε; . τί; .
4Vasia	**huh? what?**
5Τουτζάι	*dec* γιατί τώρα η Ελένη . δε παίρνει κοτόπουλο; .
5Tuncay	**why doesn't Eleni get some chicken?**
6Βάσια	*p* δε πήρε .
6Vasia	**she didn't get ((any))**

As stated, play frames during lunchtime are seldom sustained, as they elicit brief uptakes. On this particular occasion, Vasia responds to Tuncay's teasing, by counter-teasing: she makes use of syntactic repetition and recycling of positions 'χ γιατί δεν πήρες' (why didn't you get any 'x') (cf. Tannock 1999). In the following turns, however, the play frame is brought to a close, as Vasia starts eating and Tuncay shifts his attention to Eleni's choice of food.

Although the emergence of playful talk during lunchtime is seldom sustained and it is usually confined to two-party participation, pupils exploit similar contextualization cues identified in instances of playful talk during free time (see Tables 5.1a-5.1b, in 5.1) and during small-group instruction (see Table 6.3, in 6.4). For instance, as excerpt 13 below

shows, pupils make use of cries (lines 3, 5-6), sing-song intonation (line 1), rhythm and rhyme (lines 7, 10).

Excerpt 13 (context 3, 15/3/99; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 12, Appendix V)

((Η Βάσια, η Μελτέμ και η Μπαχριέ τρώνε μαζί))
((Vasia, Meltem and Bahrye are having lunch together))

1Βάσια	*f* ναι:: .. *ff* ((τραγουδά)) εί:στε χαζά . εί:στε χαζά και τρελά .
1Vasia	**yes ((she sings)) you are stupid you are stupid and crazy**
2Μελτέμ	μαμά:::=
2Meltem	**oh my gosh=**
3Βάσια	=τζι::τζί με::μέ=
3Vasia	**=tsitsi meme [127]=**
4Μελτέμ	=μαμά:::=
4Meltem	**=oh my gosh=**
5Βάσια	=hhh . είσαι τζι::τζί με::μέ . τζι::τζί με::μέ . τζι::τζί με::μέ ..
5Vasia	**=hhh you are tsitsi meme tsitsi meme tsitsi meme**
6	*f* λοπόν . ποιός είναι- . *acc* τζι::τζί με::μέ; ..
6	**so who is tsitsi meme?**
7	*ff* γκο γκο γκο . σι σι σι . το γου-ρού-νι εί-σαι 'συ .
7	**inie minie minie mow you're 'it'**
8	άρα εσύ 'σαι hhh hhh
8	**so you are 'it' hhh hhh**
9Μελτέμ	*acc* βγαίνω 'γώ . αυτή είναι .
8Meltem	**I'm out she's 'it'**
9Βάσια	άρα εσύ είσαι ..
9Vasia	**so you're 'it'**
10	γκο γκο γκο . σι σι σι . το γου-ρού-νι εί-σαι 'συ . hhhh
10	**inie minie minie mow you're 'it' hhh**
11	εσύ βγήκες τώρα .. *ff* α:: βγαίνεις . α:::::::::::: *p* έτσι κάνω ...
11	**you're out now uh you're out uh that's what I do**
12Μελτέμ	*acc* μανούλα μου
12Meltem	**oh my gosh**

Table 6.4 below demonstrates the different contextualization cues employed in playful talk during lunchtime and their users, as identified in the data.

[127] Vasia is repeating a one-liner from Turkish TV ('çiçi meme', tsitsi meme' is loosely translated as 'cute boobs' (5.5.2).

Table 6.4. Contextualization cues and users per verbal activity in playful talk during lunchtime

Verbal activities	Contextualization cues	Users
Teasing	mock challenges, commands, orders, nicknames, laughter	Tuncay, Vasia, Husein
Name-calling	nicknames, fast pace, laughter, vowel elongation, shifts in stress, rhythm and rhyme	Tuncay, Husein, Giannis, Babis
Joking	playing upon form, such as using exaggeration and hyperbole, laughter	Babis, Tuncay
Language play	manipulating elements of language (Greek), laughter	Tuncay
Singing	fragments of songs, sing-song intonation, shifts in pitch, volume and stress, laughter	Vasia
Crying out	cries, nonsense cries, laughter, style-shifts	Tuncay, Husein, Vasia, Meltem

Table 6.4 indicates that, while contextualization cues used in playful talk during lunchtime are similar to cues employed in playful talk during task-based instruction, for instance, there are differences in the frequency of use of these cues across contexts: contexts with high frequency of playful talk tend to elicit a wider range and a higher number of cues (cf. context 2, Table 6.3, in 6.4) than contexts with low frequency of playful talk (cf. context 3, Table 6.4 above).

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I investigated the emergence of playful talk and play frames in institutionally oriented interactions that is interactions during instruction (contexts 1-2) and during lunchtime (context 3). In particular, the data analysis showed that playful talk emerged as backstage and frontstage talk during whole-group instruction (context 1). Backstage playful talk was produced exclusively by pupils, who were sitting in close

proximity, in the margins of classroom discourse. By exploiting similar contextualization cues as those employed during free time (e.g. nicknames, one-liners, cries), pupils initiated and maintained play frames that were generated in parallel with instructional frames and occupied the centre of classroom discourse. As a result, it was argued that play and instructional frames rarely criss-crossed one another. This was reinforced by limited teacher intervention to bring playful talk to an end.

While not explicitly encouraging frontstage playful talk, in general, teachers tolerated its emergence in classroom discourse. By introducing shifts to playful talk, pupils initiated and developed play frames, which were embedded in instructional frames. Via these frame shifts, pupils transported playful talk from the margins to the very centre of classroom talk. To mark shifts play, pupils avoided contextualization cues, such as nicknames, one-liners and cries, which featured prominently in backstage playful talk and in non-institutionally oriented contexts. Instead, pupils selectively used cues (e.g. prosody, syntactic repetition), which could be readily understood and interpreted as play, by both pupils and teachers, since the two parties did not share common peer-group background knowledge.

Even though teacher responses to shifts to play were not always consistent, teachers were likely to support instructional frames. By supporting instructional frames, teachers usually brought playful talk swiftly to a close, as pupils abandoned it and reverted to the frame set by the teachers. Sometimes, however, pupils persisted in maintaining play frames, regardless of teacher-led shifts to play, leading in the development of simultaneous frames. Occasionally, simultaneous frames resulted in a schism of the

classroom floor into two concurrent main floors. Via teacher-led shifts, such schisms were eventually bridged and the single classroom floor was restored.

As a rule, teachers avoided participating in playful talk, thereby allocating to it a peripheral position in classroom discourse. When they resorted to playful talk, however, their contributions were limited to one turn only: usually an initiation or a response to playful talk produced by pupils. To signal play frames, unlike pupils, teachers exploited a smaller set of cues: prosody and mild terms of jocular abuse.

In this chapter, I also investigated small-group task-based instructional interactions (context 2). The data analysis indicated that play frames during small-group instruction shared mixed characteristics, as these had been identified in framing playful talk during whole-group instruction (context 1) and free time (context 4). Play frames during small-group instruction were embedded in instructional frames, notably task-related frames (cf. fronstage playful talk). While pupils were more willing and able to engage in departures to play, play frames attracted the participation of the members of the small group only (cf. backstage playful talk). To construct play frames, pupils relied on contextualization cues employed in interactions during free time and backstage playful talk (e.g. nicknames, cries, nonsense cries, style-shifts, one-liners and songs).

Furthermore, I examined the emergence of playful talk during lunchtime (context 3). The limited production of playful talk in this context was attributed to practices associated with lunchtime (see 6.5). By virtue of these practices, playful talk during lunchtime was initiated and developed against a backdrop of activities associated with having lunch and it was usually limited to two-party participation. In this respect, having lunch was

identified as the main frame in which play frames were embedded To build play frames, pupils exploited similar contextualization cues identified in other instances of pupil-pupil playful talk (e.g. non-institutionally oriented contexts and small-group instruction).

The next chapter probes into how, through playful talk and play frames, the members of the 4th grade peer group, the teachers and the researcher construct social identities, roles and social relations in both institutionally and non-institutionally oriented contexts (contexts 1-6).

Chapter seven

Playful talk, play frames and social identities

7.0 Introduction

In this chapter I probe further into the relationship between playful talk, play frames and social identities in institutionally and non-institutionally oriented contexts (contexts 1-6) at school. Drawing on findings from the preceding chapters (3-6), I explore how, through playful talk, peer group members communicate among themselves, with the teacher and researcher and construct social identities, roles and social relations. The study of social identity construction is based on the premise that, through language (in our case playful talk), interactants perform different aspects of the self, which are attuned to the local conditions of their interactions across the six contexts identified (cf. 1.8).

In this respect, I discuss and interpret findings from the ethnography and data analysis (chapters 3-6) in terms of three types of playful talk based on participation frameworks, as they have been identified in the data: (1) playful talk among peers (7.1); (2) pupil-teacher playful talk (7.2) and (3) peer group members-researcher playful talk (7.3). The investigation of these three types of playful talk demonstrates that participant social identities, roles and social relationships interact to create among others a distinct linguistically and culturally mixed 4th grade peer group identity and its small culture at school.

7.1 Playful talk among peers and its entertainment value

The entertainment value of playful talk has been well documented in the literature [128]: playful talk can generate fun and amusement, serve as time filler and serve bonding purposes. Moreover, the fact that in mainstream Greek society language is often seen as a form of play [129] further enhances the entertainment value of playful talk and contributes to its emergence among peers across the six contexts identified (Figure 4.6, in 4.3.1).

For instance, peer group members often derive a sense of shared enjoyment, when co-constructing a teasing or name-calling activity in non-institutionally oriented contexts. This shared enjoyment can be manifested in the clusters of contextualization cues they use to build these activities, such as the exchange of each other's nicknames in fast pace and the elicitation of giggles and laughter from the audience's part (e.g. Transcript 6, Appendix IV, lines 4- 16; also 5.4.1). As a result, on these occasions, the content of playful talk tends to be less important than simply taking the pleasure in engaging in name-calling among peers (cf. Eisenberg 1986). Moreover, the fun value of playful talk during free time is further enhanced by the overall relaxation of institutional features (as identified in 4.2), which constrain peer group members' conduct in institutionally oriented contexts (i.e. instruction and lunchtime).

Even though research on recess and primary school children has indicated that one of the positive values attached to break-time is 'to have fun and to relax' (Blatchford 1998: 32-33), the entertainment value of playful talk is not restricted to interactions during free time. The investigation of backstage playful talk during whole-group instruction, for

---

[128] E.g. Bishop & Curtis 2001; Crystal 1998; Cook 2000; Eisenberg 1986; Opie & Opie 1959.
[129] Antonopoulou & Sifianou [forthcoming]; Hirschon 1992; Mackridge 1992.

instance, showed that pupils engage in what is referred to in the literature on classroom discourse as 'mucking about' (Woods 1976). Woods defines 'mucking about' as a kind of seemingly aimless behaviour, often labelled by teachers as "silly" or "childish" (: 179), in which pupils engage during instruction.

By initiating quick shifts to play in the periphery of classroom discourse and exploiting cues, such as nicknames and cries (Table 6.1a, in 6.3.1), that typically emerge in interactions during free time, peer group members create interactional spaces where they can momentarily have fun and alleviate feelings of boredom. Such feelings are often generated, when they participate in daily classroom routines and activities and abide to school rules and regulations (cf. Woods 1976). The creation of these interactional spaces becomes particularly appealing and the entertainment value of playful talk is heightened by the fact that backstage playful talk is solely produced among peers, thereby excluding teachers from being ratified participants (cf. 6.3.1).

Besides having fun, by engaging in playful talk, peer group members send messages about their identities, roles and social relations at school (cf. 1.9). In other words, as Eisenberg argues (1986), playful talk also seems to involve something more than "just play" (: 189). As shown in the following sections, through playful talk (and in particular cross-sex teasing), peer group members can signal aspects of their gendered identities (7.1.1). Via teasing and name-calling, they can also negotiate status, make claims for leadership, exert social control and regulate peer conduct, including racist talk (7.1.2, 7.1.5). In addition, depending on the contextualization cues they choose to employ, they

can appropriate certain cues to construct a mixed peer group identity (7.1.3) or resist the use of other cues and put to test their peer group relations and ties (7.1.4).

As discussed (0.1), investigating peer group members' identities, roles and social relations at school is crucial, as the school environment brings children from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds (in our case Greek-speaking monolinguals and Greek-Turkish bilinguals) into contact. As a result, for the peer group members in question, the social spaces of their school (e.g. the classroom, school yard, dining hall) provide them with the arena to negotiate and construct different social identities, roles and social relations vis-à-vis each other, their teachers and the researcher.

7.1.1 Playful talk and gender relations

The data reveals that explicit talk regarding female-male relationships and sexuality do not emerge among 4th grade peer group members (*field-notes*, 27/1/99) [130]. In other words, neither girls nor boys overtly expressed 'liking' someone of the opposite sex or openly admitted to sharing romantic or affectionate feelings towards peers of the other sex (ibid). Regardless of the absence of such direct references of 'liking' or 'loving' someone, the data analysis shows that gender divisions did affect social interaction among peer group members. In particular, through cross-sex teasing, peer group members express their growing awareness of their gendered identities and explore heterosexual relations (Eder 1995; Thorne 1986). This awareness is best reflected in the following

[130] This finding is in contrast with practices observed among older children, namely 5th and 6th graders, where direct references to 'liking' (or 'loving') someone of the other sex abounded (cf. Thorne 1986). Differences in these practices across grades point to age-specific preferences regarding how children express their 'liking' someone of the opposite sex.

pattern that emerges in the data: as a rule, boys collaborate with other boys to tease girls and vice versa (5.5.1).

As shown (5.4.2), cross-sex teasing frequently attracts the participation of co-teasers of the same sex, who self-select and collaboratively tease a common target or self-select and respond on behalf of the recipient of the teases (e.g. lines 3-4 in the excerpt below).

Excerpt 1 (context 4, 18/3/99; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 7, Appendix IV).

1Νώντας	*f acc* στη κυρία στη κυρία που κάνετε τόση φασαρία
1Nontas	**I'll tell the teacher you are making so much noise**
2Μαρία	*ff acc* τί θες ρε Νώντα εσύ τώρα::;=
2Maria	**what do you want now (re) Nontas?=**
3Βάσια	=τί θες ρε Νώντα::; .. (hh)θέ(hh)λεις τί(hh)ποτα; hhh=
3Vasia	**=what do you want now (re) Nontas? you want something?=**
4Τουτζάι	=*acc* σκάσε ρε Βά[σια
4Tuncay	**=shut up (re) Va[sia**
…	

Other times, same-sex collaboration is explicitly sought after, when the co-teaser is invited by the initiator to join in the teasing (e.g. Transcript 5, Appendix IV, lines 8-9 'αχ αχ Μπαρχιέ θα τον σκοτώσω αχ αχ έλα να δεις πως έχει γράψει το 'εμείς', 'uh uh Bahrye I'm going to kill him come and see how he spelled 'we' '). By opting to participate in the teasing activity as co-teasers, peer group members align themselves with members of the same sex against members of the opposite sex, thereby projecting a shared female or male footing.

Sharing a female or male footing is further enhanced by the fact that cross-sex alliances in teasing tend to be precarious: peer group members may temporarily align themselves with members of the opposite sex, only to swiftly disassociate themselves with the teasing activity and turn against their former co-teasers, as the interaction unfolds (5.4.2).

A case in point is Giannis' re-alignment vis-à-vis the teasing activity and the target for teasing (i.e. Tuncay in Transcript 3, Appendix IV, line 62). While having actively contributed to teasing Tuncay in the preceding turns along with Meltem and Maria (lines 57-61), Giannis encourages Tuncay to retaliate against the girls and laughs at their predicament (the hair-pulling that ensues, line 65). Although the hair-pulling is intended to be playful (4.5.8), by applauding this form of aggression, exclusively employed by male peer group members, Giannis solidly re-aligns himself with his male peer.

By projecting a common male or female alignment towards their co- participants and casting a member of the opposite sex as the target, boys and girls publicly display the necessary verbal and social skills that can aid them in expressing their emotions towards one another and possibly communicating (shared) liking (cf. Eder 1993; Straehle 1993). Simultaneously, by participating in cross-sex teasing, they are articulating and strengthening their male and female bonds and friendships respectively. In other words, through collaborative cross-sex teasing, they are sharing the enjoyment of teasing, while increasing same-sex group solidarity (ibid).

Communicating (potentially) positive affect, via cross-sex teasing, can lead to the development of specific teasing routines between two interactants of the opposite sex. Such teasing routines take the form of repeatedly signalling out one another as the target for teasing. The data point to the development of teasing routines between two peer group members' (Tuncay and Vasia). While explicit references to (shared) liking between the two peer group members did not surface in the data (cf. *survey interview 2*, 28/4/99), the

high frequency of these one-to-one teasing routines across contexts (e.g. Transcript 4, Appendix IV, lines 3-4; excerpt 11, in 6.5) makes these exchanges worth highlighting.

For female peer group members, cross-sex teasing encounters provide them with the opportunity to negotiate female identities that exhibit a disengagement from traditional female roles of passivity and question assumed expectations regarding femininity [131] (Eder 1993: 29; see also Makri- Tsilipakou 1994b for similar findings in Greek female troubles-telling). More specifically, by initiating and actively participating in cross-sex teasing activities as co-teasers on behalf of their female peers or in teasing routines, these girls are presenting themselves as equally assertive and competent teasers as their male peers.

Their verbally assertive behaviour is expressed through the use of such contextualization cues as mock challenges, orders, commands and imitations of codes and language styles. These cues are coupled with latching onto prior turns and swiftly responding to teases issued by their male peers (e.g. lines 2-3 in excerpt 1 above and line 10 'μπέμ σουλέ μπεμί σουλέ', 'bem sule bemi sule', in Transcript 7, Appendix IV). Moreover, their physically assertive conduct is reflected in their use of playful aggression, such as nape-slapping (cf. 4.5.8), bodily pokes, the grabbing of possessions (e.g. Transcript 3, Appendix V, lines 3-4) and participation in cross-sex chasing routines.

In addition, cross-sex teasing exchanges allow girls to mock traditional female conduct (Eder 1993). By appealing to teachers and the researcher to intervene on their behalf and then resuming the teasing without waiting for adult intervention (cf. 5.5.4), girls

[131] For a discussion of male-female identities and roles in the Greek context, see relevant articles in Dubisch 1986 and Loizos & Papataksiarchis 1991.

manipulate traditional views that see women in need of protection and help by a powerful (in this case an adult) third party. In other words, by initiating shifts to play and re-introducing the teasing activity in the discourse, they subvert the image of the weak female (cf. Makri- Tsilipakou 1994b).

For male peer group members, however, cross-sex teasing aids them in further reinforcing traditional gender role concepts. As Eder (1995) argues, 'society places considerable importance on men being aggressive and tough' (: 61) (see also 7.1.2). Therefore, it is not surprising that boys resort to hair-pulling to respond to the girls' teases (e.g. Transcript 3, Appendix IV, lines 32, 63-64) and playground invasions, where they disrupt girls' activities, and provoke teasing exchanges and cross-sex chasing (*field-notes*, 27/1/99).

Despite the playfully antagonistic nature of cross-sex teasing and the use of playful aggression in the data, cross-sex teasing rarely (if ever) leads to overt conflict. Even in cases of hair-pulling or cross-sex chasing that trigger appeals to an adult third party (e.g. 'α κυρία πονάω', 'ah Ms it hurts', Transcript 3, Appendix IV, line 33), the teasing activity is temporarily suspended and then shortly resumed by those who appealed for adult intervention (cf. 5.5.4).

The absence of overt conflict implies that peer group members treat instances of cross-sex teasing as occasions for playful banter, which resemble what Schiffrin (1984) has called 'sociable argument'. As in the case of sociable arguments, these exchanges share the form of an argument (e.g. participants resort to orders, demands and challenges to

frame their playful talk), but they lack the serious substance of arguments, which frequently lead to fall-outs or physical confrontations (: 331).

The close connection between teasing and arguments, however, means that instances of cross-sex teasing can be prone to misinterpretation, especially, as Miller (1986) argues, 'by persons who are not familiar with the local norms of communication' (: 210). On the basis of their responses (5.5), peer group members seem to share such local norms of communication. As argued (3.4), they have been negotiated and co-constructed over a four-year period of sustained daily interactions at school, thereby reducing the possibility of miscommunication

Equally importantly, the absence of overt conflict in cross-sex teasing could also be attributed to the school's inter-cultural regime that promote communication, understanding and mutual respect across languages and cultures (3.3.2). In this context, physically aggressive conduct is sanctioned and whenever physical confrontations erupt (more frequently among boys rather than among girls), teachers immediately spot them and bring them to a halt, by disciplining the perpetrators (*field-notes*, 27/1/99).

Overall, through cross-sex teasing, female and male peer group members signal contrasting aspects of their gendered identities. For female peer group members, cross-sex teasing encounters become opportunities to negotiate female identities, which question traditional female roles of passivity and femininity. For male peer group members, on the other hand, cross-sex teasing helps them to reinforce traditional male roles, which value aggressiveness and toughness.

7.1.2 Playful talk, peer group status and social control

As discussed (7.1), engaging in playful talk enables peer group members to negotiate and explore their inter-personal relations, social roles and identities further. In particular, via playful talk, peer group members attempt to impress one another, gain prestige, acceptance and popularity and negotiate roles of leadership in the group. In addition, playful talk becomes a means to exercise social control and regulate peer conduct.

Due to the playfully antagonistic nature of teasing and name-calling (Straehle 1993), as argued (5.1), when peer group members play along with these activities, they appear to be engaging in a game of sorts, during which they often try to outperform each other and present themselves as competent (co-)initiators and co-participants. In this game peer group members can resort to more conventional cues, such the rhythmic repetition of nicknames (see Tables 1a- 1b, in 5.1) or they can experiment with new cues, thereby setting novel trends (cf. 5.3). For instance, in Transcript 3 (Appendix IV), the two antagonists (Tuncay and Husein) resort to creative allusions to each other's nickname ('κασσέττες πουλάει αυτός', 'he sells tapes', line 5, alluding to the profession of Husein's father and 'έχει Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι σήμερα', 'there is a Bronze Moon tonight', line 6, referring to the literal translation of Tuncay's name in Greek).

In the process of trying to outperform each other, peer group members have the opportunity to play with language, reproduce more conventional establish cues, but also invent and develop new cues and responses to teasing and name-calling. By engaging in these activities, peer group members develop their verbal and social skills and are gradually transformed from 'novice' to more 'experienced' (co-)initiators and (co-

)participants (cf. Miller 1986). In other words, they are socialised into the norms of the community of practice of their peer group, where being competent in teasing and name-calling and being able to respond in like manner are highly valued skills (cf. *in-depth interview*, 15/9/99; also 1.5). More importantly, the development of these skills enhances a peer group member's status and leadership role in the group.

Peer group members' leadership role in these activities can be best seen in their ability to elicit the support of (co-)initiators and co-participants in these activities. In particular, skilful initiators (e.g. Husein, Tuncay) successfully manage to marshal the participation of other peer group members in name-calling a common target (e.g. Giannis, Babis). In addition, skilful initiators frequently manage to divert the target of the activity from themselves to someone else, either by introducing a new target or by re-introducing a previous one. In other words, they seem to be orchestrating these activities, by leading the way [132].

For instance, in Transcript 1 (Appendix IV), Husein's rhythmic repetition of Giannis' nickname/surname ('Κόλλια', 'Kollia') elicits the participation of Nontas and Tuncay (lines 1, 3-6). Peer group members, who do not have a leadership role in these activities (such as Giannis), rarely elicited similar support by their peers [133]. Therefore, it is not surprising that Husein, who plays an active role in orchestrating these activities, was designated as 'the class tease' ('το πειραχτήρι', 3.4.1). This label indicates that, by virtue

---

[132] Note, however, that such leadership positions are under constant negotiation and should not be taken for granted (e.g. Tuncay's inability to get out to the position of the target for teasing and bring the activity to a close, in Transcript 3, Appendix IV).

[133] The fact that some peer group members were less competent in eliciting support in teasing and name-calling could also be associated with peer group status and personality traits. Giannis, for instance, was strong headed and opinionated (see 3.4.1). These character traits frequently brought him at odds with his peers and may explain why he was frequently targeted for teasing and name-calling.

of his experience and verbal skills in teasing and name-calling, he has achieved a leadership position among his peers in producing playful talk in discourse.

Besides serving as a means to gain peer group status and negotiate leadership roles, playful talk is frequently employed to express social concerns and norms as well as regulate peer group conduct and talk [134]. By drawing attention to violations in normative behaviour and mild conversational transgressions, especially via teasing and name-calling, peer group members communicate their views concerning what is regarded as expected or appropriate conduct and talk. By exposing these violations and conversational transgressions, they voice their objection, disagreement or criticism about something said or done, while attributing to themselves and the targets of their teasing and name-calling social roles and identities (cf. Drew 1987).

On this issue, peer group members frequently tease each other for their academic performance. Spelling mistakes, odd questions and incorrect answers consistently trigger playful talk among peers across contexts. By highlighting a spelling mistake that target has made, for instance, the teaser (and co-teasers) are presenting themselves as knowledgeable 'good' pupils (who know, for instance, the spelling rules well and can prove it by identifying and correcting the mistake), while casting the recipient of the teases as the 'bad' pupil.

For example, in Transcript 5 (Appendix IV) Vasia and Bahrye (the two teasers) 'collude' (McDermott & Tylbor 1995) to present Babis (the recipient) as the 'bad' pupil: they rapidly exchange mock threats (e.g. 'θα το σκοτώσω', 'I'm gonna kill him' (lines 6, 8)

[134] Cf. Eder 1991; Fine 1984; also Antonopoulou & Sifianou [forthcoming] for similar findings regarding humour in Greek telephone exchanges.

and challenges (e.g. 'τίποτα δεν ξέρεις ρε Μπαμπινίνο', 'you don't know anything (re) Babinino', line 18), which they intersperse with corrections delivered in high-pitch chuckling voices. Simultaneously, they ignore Babis' attempts to contribute in discourse (lines 7, 15).

On this occasion, via teasing, the two teasers are highlighting the importance of being a 'good' pupil and the significance of 'good' academic performance and singling out those whose performance falls short of the expected norm. In doing so, they reproduce and reinforce the values of their teachers and the school as a social institution, which promotes 'good' academic standing (*field*-notes, 15/3/99; survey *interview 3*, 28/8/99). In this respect, it is not surprising that in their teasing, they appropriate contextualization cues, such as mock threats, which are often used by teachers (cf. 6.3.5) and which feature prominently in adult-children exchanges in Greek discourse (Hirshon 1992; see also 7.2.1). Through playful talk, peer group members appropriate aspects of the adult (in this case aspects of the school) culture, transform them for their purposes and creatively reproduce them as part of their own peer culture (cf. Corsaro & Eder 1990).

Peer group members also exploit teasing and name-calling as a means to regulate and police peer group conduct and talk. In particular, playful talk is employed as a seconds to complaints, threats to tell on the teacher, brags produced by fellow peers in an exaggerated manner as well as attempts to trick or deceive. Through these teases, peer group members expose a breach of conduct and indirectly stop the target from complaining, bragging or threatening to tell on the teacher. Simultaneously, by dealing with these breaches of conduct via playful talk, peer group members are sending a

message regarding what is viewed as acceptable peer group conduct and talk, thereby managing their inter-personal relationships.

For instance, breaches of conduct, such as threatening to tell on the teacher, are repeatedly responded to by teasing. On these occasions (e.g. Transcript 7, Appendix IV), the teasing activity is built on trivializing the threat and rendering it irrelevant ('τί θες ρε Νώντα εσύ τώρα;' 'what do you want now (re) Nonta?'). Such teasing exchanges suggest that invoking teacher authority to stop making noise ('στη κυρία που κάνετε τόση φασαρία' 'I'll tell the teacher you are making so much noise' line 1) is not viewed as acceptable talk among peers, especially since it is teachers who have the right to issue these kind of orders and not fellow peers. The message conveyed is that pupils (such as Nontas), who try to control their peers' conduct in this way, are singled out from the group and teased. As a result, teasing becomes a means to manage inter-personal relationships, especially when these are put to risk (as in the case of telling on one's peers).

Participant responses to teasing as social control and as a means of policing peer conduct, however, show that peer group members, who are targeted, indirectly contest the teasing and its underlying messages. Contestations can take the form of responding to the teasing, by sustaining the play frame, such as shifting to name-calling and targeting the initial teaser (e.g. Husein's response to Tuncay's tease in Transcript 3, Appendix IV, line 5). Alternatively, the targets may attempt to address the teasing seriously. For instance, in excerpt 2 below, Babis responds to Bahrye's teasing (line 18), by challenging her peer group background knowledge regarding his nickname (line 19).

Excerpt 2 (context 4, 15/3/99; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 5, Appendix IV)

17Μπαχριέ	((γράφει στον πίνακα))	[ε::μείς .. .. ε::σείς .. .. αυ:τοί .. ..
17Bahrye	**((she writes on the blackboard))**	**[we you they**
18	[αχ- ρε- .. .	[τίποτα δε ξέρεις ρε Μπαμπινίνο ..
18	**[uh (re)**	**[you don't know anything (re) Babinino**
20Βάσια	[*acc* και κανένα	[τόνο βέβαια
20Vasia	**[and no**	**[stress of course**
21Μπάμπης	Μπαμπινίνο; . *acc* δε με λένε Μπαμπινίνο ..	
21Babis	**Babinino? I'm not called Babinino**	
22Μπαχριέ	δε με νοιάζει .. Μπαμπιλίνο σε λένε . Μπεϊμπιλίνο hhhh =	
22Bahrye	**I don't care you're called Babilino Babylino hhhh=**	
23Βάσια	=((προς Μπάμπη)) *ff* γράφε ((τις ασκήσεις))=	
23Vasia	**=((to Babis)) do ((your homework))=**	

By sustaining the play frame or by responding to teasing seriously, peer group members avoid addressing the content of the teasing and its underlying messages. Instead, diverting the target of teasing or challenging their teasers has the effect of refocusing the teasing activity away from themselves, their conduct or talk that has been deemed inappropriate. As a result, the targets are able to save face, while diffusing any potential conflict that could have been generated from a direct confrontation with their teasers.

Moreover, via teasing, peer group members are demonstrating their autonomy vis-à-vis the adult world of the teachers at school. For instance, discrepancies in conduct (such as telling on one's peers) are contained and dealt with in the context of the peer group, as teachers are rarely asked to intervene to settle such breaches of conduct (*field-notes,* 17/2/99). In other words, through teasing, peer group members reproduce and reinforce the norms and regulations of their peer group small culture, thereby gaining control over their lives at school and foregrounding a distinct 4th grade peer group identity (cf. Corsaro & Eder 1990).

Overall, via playful talk (in particular teasing and name-calling), peer group members exhibit their skill and expertise in negotiating leadership roles in the group. In addition, they exploit playful talk to exercise social control and regulate peer conduct, thereby managing their inter-personal relations. In doing so, they demonstrate their autonomy vis-à-vis the adult world of the teachers at school and project a distinct 4th grade peer group identity.

7.1.3 Media-inspired references and the majority (Greek) language and culture

As shown (4.5.1- 4.5.5), media-inspired references, such as one-liners, songs and cries, provide one of the main sources of contextualization cues peer group members employ in playful talk. This is not surprising given that, like elsewhere (e.g. Grugeon 2001a; Haas-Dyson 1997), peer cultures in Greece have become increasingly mediated by the mass media and youth/popular cultures (e.g. Iordanidou & Androutsopoulos 1995; Lytra 2001b; Valiouli & Psaltou-Jocey 1995). Indeed, the infiltration of media-inspired references in the peer group members' talk in question reflects their out-of-school practices (e.g. watching variety shows and music channels on TV; see *questionnaires*, *field-notes* 26/2/99).

Peer group members, however, do not just passively reproduce what they watch on TV, for instance, in their playful talk. Instead, they imitate, but also appropriate and transform, aspects of media-inspired references to use as cues in their playful talk (cf. Minks 1999). In other words, they exploit both routine and innovation in their playful talk (see relevant articles in Bishop & Curtis 2001a; James 1995). As a result, via playful talk, peer group members signal their knowledge of mass media and youth/popular cultures

and present themselves as competent users of media-inspired talk. Because of the centrality of mass media and popular culture in the peer group members' lives, being competent in the use of media-inspired references in playful talk affords social capital to its users and constructs social boundaries of belonging and inclusion (cf. Minks 1999). Lack of participation in the sharing of such media-inspired references in playful talk, on the other hand, can cause exclusion from the peer group.

The sharing of media-inspired references among peer group members is best articulated in the collaborative production of playful talk. This is reflected in the following pattern: one peer group member initiates a crying out activity with a media-inspired reference (most frequently a one-liner or a cry). In the following turn, another peer group members makes a bid to participate in discourse, usually by either latching onto or overlapping with the prior utterance and producing a similar one-liner or cry. For instance, in excerpt 3 below, Giannis makes a shift to playful talk, by laughing loudly and reproducing a one-liner from a Greek TV show: 'καλό ε;' ('that's a good one right?', line 25)

Excerpt 3 (context 4, 18/3/99; for a complete Transcript, see Transcript 3, Appendix IV)

24Μπάμπης	=για να μη του δώσει και καμιά τιμωρία ((του Χουσείν)) η κυρία ..
24Babis	**=so that the teacher doesn't punish him ((Husein))**
25Γιάννης	*f* γιατί νομίζεις δεν έχει φάει ..
25Giannis	**why you think he hasn't been ((punished for lying))**
26	χαχαχα . καλό::: έ::::;=
26	**hahaha that's a good one right?**
27Βάσια	=πολύ κα:λό .. ε::: φο-βε-ρό::: (…) ..
27Vasia	**=very good a amazing (…)**
28	((τραγουδά)) *dec* Μπρούτζινο Φεγγά::ρι:: .. Μπρούτζινο Φεγγά::ρι:: ..
28	**((she sings)) Bronze Moon Bronze Moon**
29	έτσι κάνει .. *p* Μπρούτζινο Φεγγά::ρι:: .. *ff* Μπρούτζινο Φεγγά::ρι [3sec]
29	**that's how (the singer) sings Bronze Moon Bronze Moon**

As excerpt 3 shows, subsequent to Giannis' turn, Vasia latches onto his talk and sustains the play frame, by providing the uptake of the one-liner in question: 'πολύ καλό ε φοβερό' ('very good a amazing' line 27). Vasia's uptake demonstrates that, at a discourse level, she agrees with Giannis' assessment: that the teacher has repeatedly punished Husein for lying (line 25) was a good point to make.

At an inter-personal level, Vasia and Giannis are functioning as conversational duet in that one complements the utterances of the other (cf. Maybin 1994). Simultaneously, they are signaling to one another and to their audience (Babis, Tuncay, Husein and the researcher) that they are competent users of media-inspired talk (in this case of one-liners and their uptake). Through such instances of collaborative production of playful talk, peer group members validate and (re-)create a special sense of community: the sharing of mass media and youth/popular cultures.

The sharing of media and youth/popular cultures is also evident in the production of role enactments among female peer group members. As discussed (4.4.5.4), role enactment activities are verbal activities during which interactants enact different personas (e.g. TV host, singer and so on), by making use of impersonations, code-switches, songs, shifts in pitch, volume, stress, gesturing and laughter. For instance, in Transcript 13 (Appendix V), Bahrye and Meltem manipulate shared stereotypes based on how TV hosts and singers present themselves and talk in popular variety shows. As discussed (4.5.5), morning and early afternoon variety shows in the tradition of 'Πρωινός Καφές' ('Morning Coffee'), which were avidly watched by peer group members, provide the necessary linguistic and cultural resources for (re-)creating successful impersonations.

In particular, as Transcript 1 illustrates, through a series of impersonations, Bahrye takes up the role of the TV host and presenter: she uses a series of greeting expressions to welcome the audience to the (imaginary) show ('γειά σας τί κάνετε καλώς ορίσατε', 'hello everybody how are you today? welcome ((to our show))' line 16), before she proceeds to introduce Meltem as the singer 'σήμερα έχουμε μια τραγουδίστρια που είναι πολύ ωραία', 'today we have with us a singer who is very beautiful', line 17). Moreover, in keeping with her persona of the TV host, in line 31, she overlaps with Meltem in mid-turn in an attempt to bring the singing to an end, by employing a marked expression of thanks 'ευχαριστούμε τη Meltem Cumbul', 'thank you Meltem Cumbul'). Such ritual expressions of thanks, whose purpose is to reclaim current speakership rights, are typical of TV hosts and presenters in the Greek media world (cf. Patrona 2001).

While Bahrye skillfully exploits the authoritative voice of the TV host and presenter, Meltem enacts the persona of the singer (or rather the caricature of the singer) equally successfully. Even though her singing efforts are confined to repeating the refrain of a popular, at the time of the field-work, song ('Στο Ασανσέρ', 'In the Lift'; see 4.5.3), she exploits stress, vowel elongation and shifts in pitch and tone to produce different renditions of the refrain in question ('στο ασανσέρ που συναντιώμαστε φανταζόμαστε να συμβαίνουν τα πιο τρελά', 'whenever we meet in the lift we imagine all sorts of wild things happening between us', lines 11-12, 23-24, 27-28, 30; Transcript 13, Appendix V). Her performance in well received, as it generates continuous spouts of laughter and clapping by the audience.

Role enactments illustrate that both peer group members, who enact the different personas, and the audience, who is able to appreciate and enjoy these impersonations, are tuned into mainstream (Greek) popular culture (Lytra 2001a). The choice of song ('Στο Ασανσέρ', 'In the Lift') in particular demonstrates the peer group members' knowledge of current Greek music hits. While their impersonations are based on evokings of the talk and conduct of TV personalities (e.g. TV hosts, singers etc.), through these role enactments, they also creatively transform the personas they are constructing. This becomes evident in Meltem's exaggerated shifts in pitch and tone (in lines 27- 28, 30). These shifts have the effect of parodying the way singers sing, by contesting established beliefs concerning how they are expected to sing. Not surprisingly, such small acts of subversion generate more laughter and applause by the audience.

For female peer group members, participation in role-enactments and the (re-)production of linguistic and cultural resources associated with the media aid them in constructing a female identity. This female identity is intricately linked with the consumption of media talk (e.g. gossip about actors and singers), which had earned them the collective label 'ψωνάρες' ('stuck up') by their male peers (*field-notes*, 18/3/99).

Due to the centrality of media and youth/popular cultures in the peer group members' lives, media inspired references contribute in enhancing their membership in the 4th grade peer group and providing them with the opportunity to actively participate in 'the process of being and becoming social' (James 1995: 60). For Greek-Turkish bilinguals in particular (e.g. Meltem and Bahrye), such forms of participation allow them to negotiate and gain access to important linguistic and cultural resources from the majority (Greek)

language and culture. In the process, they construct a bilingual/bicultural identity, which draws on both their home (Turkish) language and culture and the language and culture of the broader (Greek) community (in this case media and popular/youth cultures).

Peer group members, however, may contest bids for participation in this media-inspired peer culture, by questioning or downplaying their peers' knowledge and expertise vis-à-vis the use of media-inspired references (e.g. one-liners) and media talk. Such instances of contestation are not limited to specific peer group members and they do not reveal patterns of gender segregation, as those identified in cross-sex teasing (*field-notes*, 15/3/99; see also 7.1.1). Instead, when examined against a backdrop of past interactions, they bring forth underlying tensions and competition over peer group leadership and status between the peer group members involved.

For instance, in Transcript 14 (Appendix V), Vasia contests Bahrye's bid for participation in a discussion between the former and Babis and her demonstration of expertise regarding the comedy show 'Κατά Μάρκον Ευαγγέλιον' ('The Gospel according to St Mark', see 4.5.2) (line 9). In particular, Vasia interrupts Bahrye in mid-turn and dismisses her contribution as superfluous ('εντάξει εντάξει εσένα σ' αρέσουν τα πάντα έλα', 'yeah right you like everything come on', lines 10-11). Vasia's interruption suggests that Barhye's bid is regarded as a competitive move: an attempt to usurp current speakership rights and take part in the discussion she has been exclusively conducting with Babis. On her part, Bahrye does not question Vasia's move, regardless of the fact that the latter's abrupt intervention is a threat to her public face. Instead, by producing a token of

agreement coupled with giggling (line 12), Bahrye avoids escalating the confrontation and diffuses possible tensions.

When investigated against a backdrop of past interactions between Vasia and Bahrye, Vasia's response confirms an existing competition between the two girls over leadership and peer group status (see 3.4.1). By barring Barhye's access to and participation in media talk, Vasia is claiming one-upmanship and expertise, while undermining Bahrye's claims.

Besides highlighting competition over peer group status, such contestations can also question peer group members' access to valuable resources (in this case media knowledge and expertise) and raise boundaries of exclusion (cf. Minks 1999). In the case of Greek-Turkish bilinguals in particular, by playing down such knowledge and expertise, their Greek-speaking monolingual peers are questioning their participation in media and youth/popular cultures, which dominate their playful talk. In this process, they are undermining their claims to a bilingual/bicultural identity.

Generally speaking, via the sharing and (re-)production of references from the mass media and youth/popular (Greek) cultures (e.g. songs, one-liners, cries), peer group members construct a common peer group identity. For Greek-Turkish bilingual peers in particular, through the use of (Greek) media-inspired references in playful talk, they construct a bilingual/bicultural identity, which draws on both their home (Turkish) and broader community (Greek) languages and cultures.

7.1.4 Contextualization cues and the minority (Turkish) language and culture

As discussed (7.1.3), while most media-inspired references are derived from the majority (Greek) language and culture, a few, such as nicknames, one-liners and nonsense cries, come from the minority (Turkish) language and culture (see 4.5.1-4.5.2, 4.5.5). The analysis of the data points to the existence of the following processes at play regarding the incorporation of these cues in playful talk: Greek-Turkish bilinguals import linguistic and cultural resources (e.g. nicknames, one-liners) from their home language and culture into the school setting. These resources are then transformed into contextualization cues and they are employed in playful talk among peers. By being exposed to their use, Greek-speaking monolinguals come to recognise these cues as signalling play frames and start employing them as well.

Through the use of these contextualization cues, Greek-Turkish bilinguals stake a claim for their home language and culture in peer group talk. In other words, via playful talk, they make their language and culture visible in the context of the peer group and initiate the construction of a linguistically and culturally mixed 4th grade peer group small culture. From the Greek-speaking monolinguals' part, by employing these contextualization cues in playful talk, they indicate their willingness to experiment with aspects of their peer's home language and culture and co-construct a mixed peer group culture and identity (Lytra 2002b).

By virtue of the close peer group ties that had developed over four years of sustained daily interactions at school (3.4), Greek-speaking monolinguals were familiar with elements of their peers' home language and culture (cf. 3.4.3). In particular, some

contextualization cues from the minority language and culture, such as nicknames, were extensively understood and used by both Greek-Turkish bilinguals and Greek-monolinguals as cues in playful talk (*in-depth interview*, 15/9/99). A case in point is Meltem and Nontas' nicknames ('Meltem Cumbul' and 'Pamuk', i.e. 'cotton' respectively), which were frequently employed in playful talk among peers (e.g. Transcript 7, Appendix IV, line 9; Transcript 13, Appendix V, line 18). In fact, as discussed (5.4.1), Meltem's appropriation of the Turkish actress' name ('Meltem Cumbul') and its transformation into a nickname contributed to paving the way for the coining of more nicknames. The subsequent development of nicknaming practices among 4th graders consolidated the use of these two Turkish nicknames as contextualization cues. Their use was further reinforced through teasing and name-calling activities, in which all peer group members took part (see Tables 5.1a-5.1b, in 5.1).

Other contextualization cues, such as one-liners and nonsense cries in Turkish, were less ubiquitously used. At the time of the fieldwork, specific participants selectively made use of these cues in playful talk: Tuncay, Husein and Barhye from the Greek-Turkish bilinguals' side and Babis, Giannis and Vasia from the Greek-speaking monolinguals' side (*in-depth interview*, 15/9/99; see also 4.5.2, 4.5.5). Overall, although Greek-speaking monolinguals employed one-liners and nonsense cries from Turkish less frequently than their Greek-Turkish bilingual peers, their playful responses to these cues indicated that they understood and interpreted them as cues for play (e.g. Husein's nonsense cry 'abiato', line 3 in Transcript 2, Appendix IV, triggers a name-calling activity by Giannis 'ο Χουσείν είναι τούρμπου'. 'Husein is dumb', line 4).

When encountering cues from Turkish with which they were not familiar, some Greek-speaking monolinguals (Babis, Giannis, Vasia) would occasionally attempt to clarify their meaning, by initiating clarification requests. For instance, on one such occasion, Babis asks Tuncay for the meaning of the one-liner 'gel bana' ('come to me'). Tuncay obliges by providing a translation of the one-liner in question in Greek ('έλα σε μένα'). In addition, he repeats the one-liner in Turkish in a highly aspirated voice, thereby signalling its romantic overtones (*field-notes,* 30/3/99; see also 4.5.2).

While on that occasion the clarification request is duly addressed, on other occasions, requests for clarification are not directly responded to. In other words, Greek-Turkish bilinguals resort to strategies of avoidance in order to divert attention from the question at hand and conceal the meaning of a given cue. Such strategies include engaging in playful talk and keeping silent (e.g. Transcript 5, Appendix V, line 10).

These contradictions in Greek-Turkish bilinguals' responses regarding requests for clarification suggest ambivalence from their part vis-à-vis the sharing of the meaning of cues from their home language and culture with their Greek-speaking monolingual peers. On the one hand, by (re-)producing these cues in playful talk among peers, they are positioning them on an equal footing with similar cues from Greek media and youth/popular cultures (e.g. one-liners from Greek variety shows, see 7.1.3). In doing so, they are actively negotiating a place for them in their mixed peer group culture that is otherwise dominated by cues from the majority (Greek) language and culture.

On the other hand, by resisting to provide an explanation of the meaning of these cues to their Greek-speaking monolingual peers, they are barring the latter's access to knowledge about their home language and culture (Turkish). The fact that their peers can only access this sort of information at school, as cross-cultural friendships rarely occur outside the school setting (3.4), heightens the Greek-Turkish bilinguals' control over the use of these cues in contact encounters. By rejecting access, they are claiming sole ownership of the meaning of these cues and erecting boundaries of exclusion vis-à-vis their Greek-speaking monolingual peers. Such intra-group boundaries, however, undermine the process of constructing a mixed peer group culture and identity [135].

These responses by the Greek-Turkish bilingual peer group members confirm one of the study's major findings, notably that participant responses are not static and homogeneous (cf. 5.5). As shown in instances of teasing and name-calling, the use of the same cue (e.g. a nickname) can generate competing responses across the continuum from play to non-play (e.g. more playful talk, but also a serious response; cf. 5.5.1, 5.5.3). It was argued that these findings point to the ambiguous and context-dependant nature of play, which has been repeatedly reported in the literature on teasing and play (cf. 5.5; see also Eder 1991, 1993; Straehle 1993).

In this thesis, the appropriation of cues, such as one-liners and nonsense cries, from the minority language and culture in playful talk by Greek-speaking monolinguals is seen as a form of 'crossing'. Following Rampton (1995), 'crossing' is defined as 'the use of language varieties associated with social and ethnic groups that the speaker does not

[135] It is worth noting that similar strategies of avoidance in answering the researcher's clarification requests regarding aspects of the peer group members' mixed culture by both Greek-speaking monolinguals and Greek-Turkish bilinguals were identified (see Lytra 2002c; also 7.3).

normally 'belong' to' (: 14). This means that crossing involves 'a distinct sense of movement across social or ethnic boundaries' (: 280). In our case, such movement spans across linguistic, cultural and ethnic boundaries and elicits a variety of responses on the Greek-Turkish bilinguals' part.

In this context, the use of Turkish one-liners and nonsense cries by Greek-speaking monolinguals elicits a series of responses ranging from playful uptakes, to serious responses to silence. For instance, as shown in excerpts 4-5 below, the use of the one-liner 'gel bana' ('come to me') and its playful transformations ('gee mana', 'geni mana') by Giannis and Babis triggers a playful uptake and a serious response respectively.

In particular, in excerpt 4 below, Giannis initiates a shift to play from the small-group writing task in which he, Husein, Tuncay and Babis have been involved, by producing the playful transformation 'γκένι μανά' ('geni mana', line 3).

Excerpt 4 (context 2, 30/3/99)

1Χουσείν	((καθώς προσπαθεί να γράψει τη λέξη 'εγκυκλοπαίδεια')) *f* 'α:::::::: ..
1Husein	**((he is trying to spell the word 'encyclopaedia')) a**
2	*acc* μπερδέφτηκα και εγώ τώρα:: =
2	**I got confused now too=**
3Γιάννης	*ff* γκένι μανά:: .
3Giannis	**geni mana ((i.e. come to me))**
4Τουτζάι	*ff* γκένι μανά:: ..
4Tuncay	**geni mana ((i.e. come to me))**
5Χουσείν	*acc* ((στη Βάλλη)) κυρία μπερδεύομαι::=
5Husein	**((to Vally)) Ms I'm confused=**
6Τουτζάι	= *p* κυρία:: . μπερδεύομαι::
6Tuncay	**= Ms I'm confused**

Subsequent to Giannis' shift of frame to play, Tuncay makes a bid for the next turn and repeats the one-liner, by exploiting volume, stress and vowel elongation, as Giannis had done (line 4). By providing a playful uptake, Tuncay is exhibiting a shared footing with

Giannis and sustaining the play frame. In addition, his response resembles uptakes elicited, when Greek-Turkish bilinguals use similar one-liners in playful talk. These uptakes can include the use of a one-liner or a nonsense cry, such as 'αννιά μα', 'anja ma' (in Transcript 4, Appendix V, lines 8-9). In this context, via his response, Tuncay is signalling to Giannis that he is ratifying his crossing to Turkish and his playful uptake illustrates that he takes the use of this cue as a bid for solidarity and strengthening of peer group bonds (cf. Rampton 1995).

As stated, a similar occasion of crossing using another transformation of the one-liner 'gel bana' generates a different response by the same participant (Tuncay). In the following excerpt (excerpt 5), Tuncay initiates a frame shift to play, by introducing a teasing activity in discourse. He builds his tease by issuing a challenge to Babis, which culminates in giggling (line 72). In addressing the tease, Babis resorts to another common transformation of the one-liner 'gel bana' ('gee bana'), which he delivers in near-native pronunciation (line 73).

Excerpt 5 (context 2, 30/3/99; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 11, Appendix V)

71Μπάμπης	((στο Γιάννη)) τί έγραψες εδώ; ...
71Babis	**((to Giannis)) what did you write here?**
72Τουτζάι	((προς Μπάμπη)) *acc* έλα ρε ... τί κοιτάς (hh)εκεί(hh); …
72Tuncay	**((to Babis)) come on (re) what at you staring (hh)at(hh)?.**
73Μπάμπης	((προς Τουτζάι)) *p* gee bana .
73Babis	**((to Tuncay)) gee bana (i.e. come to me)**
74Τουτζάι	α- *f* ((στη Βάλλη)) κυρία . αυτός όλο λέει- gee bana . αυτός .
74Tuncay	**a- ((to Vally)) Ms he's saying gee bana all the time he ((is))**
75	((προς Μπάμπη)) *p* φύγε(hhh)
75	**((to Babis)) go away(hhh)**
76Βάλλη	Μπάμπη σε παρακαλώ . κάτσε ήσυχος .
76Vally	**Babis keep quiet please**

Unlike excerpt 4, Tuncay responds to Babis' teasing, by summoning an adult third party (in this case the researcher) and complaining about his peer's conduct (line 74). As in the case of similar appeals for teacher or researcher intervention identified in the data (see 5.5.4), immediately after issuing his complaint Tuncay makes a shift in footing back to play: without waiting for the researcher's response, he drops the volume of his voice and issues an order to Babis followed by giggling (line 75).

By addressing Babis' crossing seriously, through his complaint to the researcher, Tuncay appears to be challenging Babis' right to use the one-liner in question. This is further reinforced by his complaint that Babis has been repeatedly employing this cue in discourse. Through this complaint, Tuncay is raising questions regarding Babis right to use the one-liner, while indirectly foregrounding his claim of sole ownership of the cue (cf. Shuman 1993). Simultaneously, however, Tuncay's shift in footing back to play in mid-turn (line 75) appears to be undermining the seriousness of his initial response.

When seen against a trajectory of responses to play that emerge in the data, such shifts in footing in playful talk are common (e.g. Transcript 2, Appendix V, lines 6-15). It has been argued that they highlight the complexities and ambiguities of playful talk as well as the necessity to frame talk in such a manner that it is understood as playful (5.5; see also Eder 1991). Moreover, as in other cases of complaints to adult third parties in the data (5.5.4), the swift shift in footing back to play demonstrates that these complaints are not to be taken seriously, but rather to be seen as ritual complaints. Their purpose is not to elicit disciplinary comments by the adult third party (although this may occur, especially in small-group instructional interactions, during which pupil conduct is loosely monitored

by teachers and/or the researcher, see Transcript 11, Appendix V, lines 17, 19). Instead, their purpose is to negotiate inter-personal relations among (mainly male) peers and one-upmanship.

In addition, similar to the examination of responses to teasing and name-calling (5.5.1-5.5.5), at a discourse level, the investigation of the local interactional context can shed light in the interpretation of different responses to crossing. In this respect, in excerpt 5 above, for instance, Tuncay's initial serious response to Babis' crossing may have been triggered by the latter's near-native pronunciation of the one-liner in question. This could have generated associations with the semantic/pragmatic meaning of the one-liner ('gee bana', 'come to me'), notably its romantic overtones and its use in cross-sex encounters (4.5.2). By directing the one-liner to Tuncay in response to his teasing in the previous turn (line 71), Babis could have conjured up these associations, thereby triggering Tuncay's serious response.

The extent to which such responses to instances of crossing bring forth issues of 'entitlement' (Shuman 1992), namely who has the right to use a particular cue, do not clearly emerge from the data analysis (Lytra 2002b). According to Shuman (1992), entitlement concerns 'the distribution of knowledge' and in particular 'differential knowledge' among participants (: 135). In this context, Greek-Turkish bilinguals' responses regarding the appropriation of one-liners from Turkish could 'raise questions about the ownership of talk as well as, by implication, the ownership of experience' (ibid). Although there is an element of contestation in their responses, the fact that they converge with the range of responses elicited when other cues are used in playful talk

(see 5.5.1-5.5.4) means that there is not a clear connection between the use of one-liners from Turkish by Greek-speaking monolinguals and issues of entitlement.

While this is the case with the use of one-liners from Turkish media sources and nonsense cries, the issue of entitlement could have a bearing on the use of imitations of words and phrases in Turkish as cues. Such cues appear infrequently in playful talk among peers and usually elicit silences on the Greek-Turkish bilinguals' part. As it was argued (5.5.2), the absence of uptake brings playful talk to a close and usually indicates an unwillingness rather than lack of skill in pursuing the play frame. Moreover, via silence, participants may signal their discontent with the way a given playful activity is developing and perhaps indirectly manifest their disapproval of the use of specific cues (cf. 7.2.2). For instance, in excerpt 6 below, neither Meltem nor Tuncay provide an uptake in Vasia's imitation (lines 12- 13) of Tuncay's prior turn in Turkish (line 11).

Excerpt 6 (context 4, 18/3/99; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 7, Appendix IV)

9Τουτζάι	*p* ά:ντε ρε Cumbul=
9Tuncay	**come off with it out (re) Cumbul=**
10Μελτέμ	=*f* άσε μας ρε Τούτζα Μούτζα:: Μούτζα Μούτζα:=
10Meltem	**= leave us alone (re) Tunzda Mundza Mundza Munzda=**
11Τουτζάι	=*be:n mi suledim*? .
11Tuncay	**=did I say that? .**
12Βάσια	μπέ::μ σουλέ .. μπεμί σουλέ; [4sec]
12Vasia	**bem sule bemi sule?**
	((ακούγονται πολλές φωνές))
	((a lot of background noise can be heard))
13Τουτζάι	κοίτα .. πολύ ωραίο σημαία έκανα ..
13Tuncay	**look I painted a very nice flag**
	((ακούγονται φωνές))
	((background noise))

Given Tuncay and Meltem's active participation in the teasing exchange (lines 9- 10) prior to Vasia's turn, the subsequent silence of four seconds is rather striking. Indeed, in

the next turn, Tuncay's evaluation of the flag he has painted (line 13) further consolidates the shift of frame away from play and back to the painting task in which the peer group members had been involved.

At a discourse level, resorting to silence in response to such imitations of Turkish by Greek-speaking monolinguals serves to foreground ambiguities regarding the use of these cues in playful talk. Unlike one-liners and nonsense cries in Turkish, Greek-Turkish bilinguals do not employ imitations of Turkish words and phrases in playful talk. This suggests that they may not readily take these cues as playful. Indeed, given that such imitations may come out as 'caricature' (Norrick 1993: 16) of one's home language further aggravates the ambiguity surrounding their use. By keeping silent and avoiding to provide an uptake, Greek-Turkish bilinguals are indicating the unsuitability of such cues in playful talk and implicitly raising issues of entitlement. They do so, however, without engaging in overt conflict with their Greek-speaking monolingual peers.

Overall, the use of nicknames, one-liners, nonsense cries and imitations of words and phrases in Turkish indicates that processes of constructing a linguistically and culturally mixed peer group culture and identity are under way. The data indicate, however, that these processes are fraught with contradictions. Such contradictions have been identified in competing perceptions between Greek-Turkish bilinguals and Greek-speaking monolinguals regarding the latters' repertoires in Turkish. Oral reports show consensus among Greek-Turkish bilinguals that their Greek-speaking monolingual peers 'speak Turkish' ('ξέρουν Τούρκικα'), which they have learned 'through them' ('εμείς τους

μάθαμε'). In these reports, Greek-speaking monolinguals are treated as a homogeneous group sharing the same level of knowledge of Turkish (*field-notes*, 30/3/99).

On the Greek-speaking monolinguals' part, however, only three out of six (Vasia, Babis and Costas) acknowledge knowing 'a few' Turkish words ('ξέρω λίγο' 'λίγες λέξεις'), which they concede having learnt through contact with their Greek-Turkish bilingual peers at school (ibid). It is worth noting that in the questionnaires administered towards the end of the fieldwork, none of the Greek-speaking monolinguals included Turkish as one of the languages they understood a little (*questionnaires*).

Competing perceptions between peer group members regarding the Greek-speaking monolinguals' repertoires in Turkish reveal processes of resistance from the part of the Greek-speaking monolinguals in explicitly acknowledging their use of Turkish as a resource in talk in general and playful talk in particular. These processes of resistance are part of broader parallel and, at times, contradictory processes, which come into play in the formation of a mixed peer group identity and small culture. These broader (macro) processes are seen as processes of conversion towards and diversion from constructing a mixed peer group identity and its small culture at school.

In particular, on the basis of the language practices discussed in this section, (macro) processes of conversion and diversion take the following forms: through clarification requests, Greek-speaking monolinguals seek to learn the meaning of contextualization cues in Turkish. Moreover, via instances of crossing (one-liners, nonsense cries and imitations of Turkish), they appropriate and reproduce these cues in playful talk. Simultaneously, however, the same peer group members underplay their knowledge of

Turkish or refuse to explicitly acknowledge it (as in the case of Giannis, see *field-notes*, 30/3/99).

Similar processes of conversion and diversion have been identified in the Greek-Turkish bilinguals' talk: On the one hand, they are keen to make their home language and culture visible in the context of the 4th grade peer group, by introducing and sharing contextualization cues from Turkish in playful talk. On the other hand, they engage in strategies of avoidance, when explicitly asked about the meaning of particular cues by their Greek-speaking monolingual peers. Via these strategies, they claim sole ownership of the meaning of these cues and erect boundaries of exclusion within the peer group.

To understand these parallel processes of conversion and diversion, it is necessary to situate them in dominant national discourses regarding how modern Greeks perceive their national selves and national 'others'. As it will be shown, these broader societal discourses influence the perceptions of the self and the 'other' at the local level of the community, the school and the peer group as well as the linguistic and cultural practices (in our case playful talk) among peers (see also 3.1.3). Dominant discourses on national identity have been rooted in the concept of a 'cultural continuum' from ancient to contemporary Greeks, 'turning the Greek nation into a cultural community travelling through time' (Soysal & Antoniou 2001: 5). This cultural continuum is the synthesis of the legacy of ancient Greece and the Greek Orthodox tradition (ibid; see also Chouliaraki [forthcoming]; Herzfeld 1987). In this respect, cultural, linguistic and religious homogeneity emerge as central components of modern Greek identity formation.

Inevitably, this perception of the national self shapes the perception of the national 'others'.

In this context, for modern Greeks, the 'Turk' emerges as the significant non-European 'other' (Soysal & Antoniou 2001: 5). This other-ascription has been identified as the outcome of Greek nation building, which was inaugurated by the country's independence from Ottoman rule (ibid). As a result, the self- and other- ascriptions of members of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi and their school-age offspring as 'Turks' (see 3.1.1.) have the effect of solidly positioning this community as the linguistic and cultural 'other' vis-à-vis the majority.

These dominant national discourses are influential in the construction of social relations and the perception of the self and the 'other', at a local inter-community level in Gazi. As discussed (3.1.3), attitudes vis-à-vis the majority and minority communities in Gazi reveal a high degree of polarisation and stereotyping within and across the two communities (Avramopoulou & Karakatsanis 2002; Mavromatis 1997). In their study of identity construction among members of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi, Avramopoulou & Karakatsanis (2002) argue that majority members assign themselves and minority members to two opposing social categories: on the basis of a superiority-inferiority axis, majority members see themselves as 'culturally superior' and position minority members as 'culturally inferior'.

These social categories are the outcome of dominant national discourses where communities and cultures as homogeneous and static entities are seen as the norm. Moreover, deviations from the norm whether in religious beliefs or linguistic and cultural

practices among minority communities are singled out, stigmatised and viewed as unwillingness to integrate in mainstream society. Such social categorisations, however, fail to capture the heterogeneity, diversity and propensity for change of minority communities and cultures (cf. Blommaert & Verschueren 1998).

These dominant national discourses filter though every day experience and are articulated in the majority members' negative perceptions and attitudes towards the use of Turkish spoken in public spheres in Gazi (e.g. the school, the market, the playground and so on). Informal discussions with majority members reveal that Turkish monolingualism among the first and second generations (especially among female speakers), the use of Turkish in the presence of Greek-speaking monolinguals and subsequent poor linguistic competence in Greek are stigmatised, since they are regarded as an unwillingness from their part to integrate in mainstream Greek society (*field-notes*, 23/4/99; see also 3.1.3). While serving to reproduce a discourse of inferiority and exclusion vis-à-vis turcophone speakers, these perceptions and attitudes fail to account for variation and change in language practices within the minority community. This is best witnessed among the school-age generation and its members varying degrees of Greek-Turkish bilingualism (cf. 3.1.4).

As discussed (3.1.4), contrary to majority members' negative perceptions and attitudes towards Turkish, minority members attach high prestige to Thracian Turkish, from which the local variety of Gazi stems (cf. Maradzides & Mavromatis 1999; Sella-Mazi 1999a, 1999b), as well as Standard Modern Turkish (cf. Empeirikos et al 2001). Turkish is allocated both symbolic and instrumental values and it is an important source of linguistic 'capital' in Bourdieu's terms (1977) for its speakers. These findings are collaborated by

studies on the linguistic vitality of indigenous linguistic minorities in Greece, which feature Turkish as the language with the highest linguistic vitality (Sella-Mazi 1997b, 1999b; Trudgill 1992). At the same time, minority members in Gazi are acutely aware of these competing perceptions and attitudes regarding the use of Turkish in public domains as well as of being stigmatised as culturally inferior by the majority (*survey interview 5*, 15/10/00; see also Athanasopoulos 1997).

The contradictory perceptions regarding the self and the 'other' as well as conflicting attitudes towards minority members' use of Turkish in public spaces in Gazi can shed light on the processes of conversion to and diversion from a mixed peer group identity and small culture that have been identified in uses of Turkish in playful talk at school. Although the school as a social institution with the promotion of its inter-cultural regime and the initiatives of locally-based non-government organisations (NGOs) seek to bridge the gap between contradictory perceptions and conflicting attitudes that dominate national and local discourses (in Gazi), these discourses filter through and influence playful talk at school. In other words, dominant national discourses become visible at a local level in the data under study.

In particular, the positioning of minority members as culturally inferior and the stigmatisation of their home language by the mainstream majority could account for discrepancies between uses of Turkish by Greek-speaking monolinguals in playful talk and their overall reluctance to directly acknowledge some knowledge of the language. It is worth noting that the same Greek-speaking monolinguals identified the English and other European languages (e.g. French and German), whose use is frequently associated

with prestige [136], as languages they understand and speak in varying degrees of proficiency (*questionnaires*; also *field*-notes, 30/3/99). By excluding Turkish as well as other home languages spoken at school, such as Albanian, they are treating them as not sharing similar positive associations as English, French and German language use is considered to have, thereby tacitly marginalising them.

By the same token, the awareness of negative perceptions and attitudes towards their home language and culture can prompt Greek-Turkish bilinguals to sometimes withhold information regarding the meaning of Turkish contextualization cues in playful talk. As discussed in this section, by barring access to this sort of information, they are claiming sole ownership of the meaning of these cues. Through such forms of control over access and distribution of knowledge, Greek-Turkish bilinguals can negotiate power relations with their Greek-speaking monolingual peers at a local interactional level.

Consequently, the data analysis indicates that to interpret the aforementioned processes of conversion to and diversion from a mixed peer group identity and its small culture it is necessary to probe into of both global contexts (national and 'local' discourses regarding the self and the 'other') and local contexts (e.g. participant configurations, setting) (cf. 1.3). When compared with studies of youth languages and identity construction across Europe, the process of construction of a mixed peer group identity and its small culture among the peer group members under study strongly suggests that it is at its early stages. This is due to the fact that the processes discussed above have just begun. Moreover, at the time of the fieldwork, uses of Turkish by Greek-Turkish bilingual and Greek-

[136] Cf. Marki-Tsilipakou 1997, regarding attitudes towards code-switches to English in Greek discourse.

speaking monolingual peer group members in mixed encounters were mainly confined to instances of playful talk. This means that the visibility of Turkish in contact encounters is still low, which contrasts with the high visibility of Turkish words and expressions in Dutch youth languages (Nortier 2002) and in German urban youth styles (Auer & Dirim [forthcoming]).

These differences in visibility can be attributed to the marginal position of the Turkish language and culture in mainstream Greek society, which, as discussed, has been influenced by dominant national discourses that position the 'Turk' as the 'other'. In this respect, it is unlikely that Turkish in the Greek context will assume the high visibility it has in youth languages and cultures in the Netherlands or in Germany [137]. Equally importantly, linguistic and cultural contact on a broader scale between majority and minority children in Gazi is a recent phenomenon: it is a product of the mid-90s that has been spearheaded by initiatives organised by the school, the University of Athens and local non-government organizations (NGOs) (3.2.1-3.2.2). In addition, this contact takes place almost exclusively at school, as linguistically and culturally mixed friendships rarely occur outside the school setting (3.4.1). As a result, the visibility of the minority language and culture in contact encounters is contained to exchanges at school, thereby hindering the dissemination of Turkish in other settings (e.g. in the neighbourhood playground).

[137] It is worth noting that due to extensive language contact between Greek and Turkish, Greek has borrowed lexical items and word-forming suffixes from Turkish (Joseph 1992; Kazazis 1973). In addition, Greek dialects of Asia Minor (in Turkey) were heavily influenced by Turkish and had incorporated grammatical and derivational elements (Dawkins 1916).

Overall, the data analysis clearly demonstrates that when contact between majority and minority children is intense and sustained over a long period of daily interactions at school, the minority language and culture starts becoming more visible: Greek-Turkish bilinguals introduce, share and transform contextualization cues from Turkish in playful talk, while Greek-speaking monolinguals appropriate and (re-)produce them. Although, as shown, this visibility can trigger competing processes of conversion and diversion by both Greek-speaking monolinguals and Greek-Turkish bilinguals, at the same time, it leads to the construction of a mixed peer group identity and its small culture.

7.1.5 Terms of verbal abuse and the regulation of racist talk among peers

As discussed (5.5.1), there are certain discourse contexts (e.g. name-calling, teasing) that give licence to interactants to use terms of verbal abuse, such as 'αράπης' ('nigger'), as cues for play. As shown, when peer group members are operating within this discourse context, recipients interpret these cues as play. For instance, in excerpt 7 below, Giannis resorts to the use of the cue 'αράπη' ('nigger') twice (lines 9, 11) to address Husein's name-calling (lines 6-8).

Excerpt 7 (context 5, 15/3/99; for a complete Transcript see Transcript 2, Appendix IV)

6Χουσείν	=*f* ο Γιάννης είναι *acc* (h)Κό(h)λλια . (h)Κό(hh)λλια . Κόλλια . Κόλλια
6Husein	**= Giannis is Kollia Kollia Kollia Kollia**
7	((συμμετέχουν και άλλοι)) *f* Κό::λλια Γιά::ννη:: .. Κό::λλια Γιά::ννη:: ..
7	**((others join in)) Kollia Gianni Kollia Gianni**
8	((μόνο ο Χουσείν)) *f* Κό::λλια Γιά::ννη .. (h)Γιάνν(hh)ιη::=
8	**((only Husein) Kollia Gianni Gianni**
9Γιάννης	= *p acc* αράπη Χουσεί:ν ..
9Giannis	**= nigger Husein**
10Χουσείν	hhhh . hhh=
10Husein	**hhhh hhh=**
11Μπαχριέ	=*acc* σταματήστε ρε
11Bahrye	**=stop (re)**
12Γιάννης	[*p acc* αράπη Χουσεί:ν

12Giannis	**[nigger Husein**
13Χουσείν	[*p acc* αράπικο σα[λάτα
13Husein	**[nigger salad**
14Μπαχριέ	[*acc* κοίτα κει=
14Bahrye	**[look there=**

By giggling (lines 10) and shifting to language play (line 13) in response to the name-calling, Husein indicates that he has not interpreted the use of the cue 'αράπη Χουσείν' ('nigger Husein') as a personal insult. Nevertheless, the overall scarcity of use of such cues in playful talk by peer group members other than Giannis and occasionally Babis, Husein and Tuncay strongly suggests a regulation of overt racist teasing and name-calling across interactional contexts at school (4.5.7; see also Kelly 1994; Kelly & Cohen 1998). This scarcity of terms of verbal abuse is reinforced by the fact that other peer group members frequently ignore and occasionally explicitly sanction the use of such cues in playful talk.

For instance, in excerpt 7 above, Giannis' use of the cue 'αράπη Χουσείν' ('nigger Husein', lines 9, 12) does not elicit an uptake by other peer group members, as the rhythmic repetition of Giannis' surname/nickname 'Κόλλια' ('Kollia') had done in the previous turns (line 7). In addition, in the ensuing turns (line 11), Bahrye attempts to intervene in order to stop the name-calling activity, by (unsuccessfully) calling both boys to order ('σταματήστε ρε', 'stop (re)'). In fact, the subsequent development of the name-calling activity in question demonstrates that not only is Giannis unable to elicit an uptake by other peer group members against Husein, but also that peer group members continue targeting him. In other words, by siding with Husein against Giannis, peer group members appear to be signaling their disapproval of his earlier racist talk.

The overall avoidance of terms of verbal abuse in playful talk and its effect on the regulation of overt racist teasing and name-calling has also been attributed to influences from the school's inter-cultural regime, which explicitly sanctioned it, as well as teachers' volubility against its use among peers (4.5.7). Moreover, because of the unstable and ambiguous nature of play, terms of verbal abuse with racist connotations, such as 'αράπης' ('nigger'), can be more easily misinterpreted than other cues, which do not trigger similar connotations (e.g. nicknames, one-liners and nonsense cries). In this respect, by avoiding using such cues, peer group members insulate themselves against potential conflict talk and disaccord that can arise from the use of these cues in playful talk.

The regulation of racist talk and monitoring of peer conduct during instances of playful talk should not be seen as uniform across participants. Instead, the data show that a particular cue may conjure up positive or negative associations depending on who uses it, in other words, 'who says what to whom' becomes central in interpreting such cues as playful (*field-notes*, 5/3/99). This means that participants can have competing interpretations regarding the meaning of specific terms of verbal abuse depending on their user.

On this issue, a heated discussion triggered by Husein's allegations to the form teacher that Giannis had been repeatedly calling him 'αράπη Πακιστάν' ('nigger Pakistan') revealed that for some Greek-Turkish bilinguals the interpretation of this term of verbal abuse differed depending on the user (ibid) [138]. While both the form teacher and most

[138] Note that cross-cultural studies of Greek and Turkish have identified a higher degree of verbal laxity and lack of accountability regarding the use of insults in Greek than in Turkish culture (Millas 1999 reported in

Greek-speaking monolinguals forcefully denounced all uses of such cues and criticised Giannis, some Greek-Turkish bilinguals advocated an alternative view: they pointed out that certain peer group members have licence to use such talk among themselves, while others do not.

In particular, in response to Giannis' claims that the same cue was widely employed among Greek-Turkish bilingual boys for one anther, Greek-Turkish bilinguals counter-argued that such uses were allowed, since their users were 'friends' ('αυτοί είναι φίλοι μπορεί να λένε μπορεί να μη λένε') (ibid) [139]. By claiming, however, that Greek-Turkish bilingual boys have friendship ties based on their shared background that gives them license to use these cues among themselves, Greek-Turkish bilinguals are drawing boundaries between the peer group members (cf. Mitchell- Kernan 1972): they are foregrounding linguistic and cultural identities over their shared peer group affiliation. Competing interpretations regarding the use of terms of verbal abuse highlight degrees of differentiation within the peer group and demonstrate that the peer group identity is at times overridden in favour of one's minority cultural/linguistic affiliations.

Overall, the data analysis shows a scarcity in the use of terms of verbal abuse in playful talk, thereby pointing to a regulation of racist talk among peers. At the same time, however, peer group members support competing interpretations regarding specific terms of verbal abuse depending on their users. These competing interpretations indicate that

---

Hirschon 2001). This higher degree of verbal laxity and verbal freedom could serve to explain (to some certain extent) Giannis' repeated uses of terms of verbal abuse in playful talk.

[139] Such claims resonate the ritual verbal duelling tradition among Turkish youths discussed in Dunes, Leach & Özkök (1972), where close friendship ties give license to the use of taunts aiming at a boy's close relatives, his manliness or courage, which otherwise would have been regarded as serious insults (: 135-136).

one's affiliation to the peer group can be overridden in favour of one's minority cultural/linguistic identity.

7.2 Playful talk among pupils and teachers

The analysis of the data has shown that playful talk emerges both in backstage and frontstage talk (6.3.1, 6.3.3). While backstage playful talk is private and confined among pupils sitting in close proximity, frontstage playful talk is public and declamatory and opens up participation to teachers and more pupils. Even though, as a rule, teachers resist frame shifts to play, playful talk is tolerated in classroom discourse (6.3.4). In other words, in the social order of the 4th grade class teachers tolerate playful talk rather than systematically sanction it (unless they judge it is disruptive to classroom order, see 6.3.4). As a result, frontstage playful talk becomes the 'hidden norm' in the classroom in question in that neither pupils nor teachers explicitly acknowledge it, yet its presence is strong in classroom discourse.

As in the case of backstage playful talk (7.1), frontstage playful talk can also provide pupils and teachers with a brief interlude to instruction and alleviate feelings of stress or boredom. In this respect, frontstage playful talk resembles Goffman's (1961) 'secondary adjustments' regarded as:

> the ways the individual stands apart from the role and the self, taken for granted for him by the institutions and by which he 'makes out', 'gets by', 'plays the system' and so on (reported in Woods 1976: 181).

For both pupils and teachers, such 'secondary adjustments' allow them to temporarily put on hold their institutional personas and roles and project instead self-images, which

characterise adult- child interactions or informal talk among friends (see 7.2.1, for a discussion).

Besides providing ways to cope with boredom and stress, via fronstage playful talk, pupils and teachers renegotiate and redefine what counts as classroom talk. This finding has implications for re-conceptualising teacher authority and power at a local interactional level (7.2.1). Moreover, frontstage playful talk becomes one of the means through which the minority language and culture becomes visible in the official classroom space and gets to be heard in the centre of classroom talk (7.2.2).

7.2.1 Redefining classroom talk and re-conceptualising the classroom order

By transporting playful talk from the periphery to the centre of classroom talk, pupils seek to legitimise playful talk and negotiate for it a place in the forefront of classroom discourse. As discussed (6.3.4), through frame shifts to play, pupils make bids to negotiate the main classroom frame. As a result, it was shown that play frames emerge as embedded frames and can occur simultaneously with instructional frames (e.g. Transcript 8, Appendix V, lines 5- 13). When play frames are sustained simultaneously with instructional frames, they can create a 'schism' in the main classroom floor to two main floors and create forked frames (e.g. Transcript 9, Appendix V, lines 5- 39).

In this respect, frame negotiations, via frontstage playful talk, provide pupils with a window to contest teacher authority and power at a local interactional level. This finding highlights the importance of distinguishing between different levels of teacher authority and power: a local interactional level as opposed to a broader institutional level. Although classroom research has traditionally viewed authority and power as being an integral part

of teachers' institutional roles at school, more recent research has questioned this line of argument. It has claimed that teacher power and authority at a local interactional level cannot be taken for granted (Candela 1999; also 4.2).

On this issue, drawing on Diamond (1996), Candela (1999) differentiates between 'institutional rank' and 'local rank' (: 142). She defines 'institutional rank' as 'social stratification', which is based on sex, age, nationality and other variables that tend to be fixed. 'Local rank', on the other hand, is defined as 'social variables whose meaning is internal to a particular community' (in our case the 4th class) (ibid). Since rank position implies power in discourse and institutional rank cannot be questioned through discourse, she argues, participants compete for power at a local rank (i.e. at an interactional level). As a result, she claims that:

> when people bid for the floor, compete, negotiate rules, interrupt each other, overlap, they are vying for local rank (ibid).

Following this line of argument, when pupils negotiate frame shifts to play or resist teacher-led attempts for reframing, they simultaneously re-negotiate relations of power with their teachers at the local interactional level. Following Candela, 'local power' is taken to mean:

> the differentiated use of discursive resources or actions that influence the discourse of other participants (such as control of next turns, topic and frame development) (: 143).

By resisting teacher authority and power at a local level, pupils attempt to gain control of their lives in the classroom (cf. Corsaro & Eder 1990; Davis 1982). At the same time,

these challenges aid pupils in developing a common peer group identity vis-à-vis their teachers and in strengthening their group ties (ibid).

As a result, through playful talk, pupils manage to negotiate a social order of their own as an alternative to the classroom order proposed by their teachers in the centre of classroom discourse. This social order shares similarities with aspects of the social orders developed during break time and lunchtime at school. Although pupils are selective and avoid using contextualization cues (e.g. nicknames, one-liners and cries), which are common in pupil-pupil encounters, they import verbal activities, such as teasing as a form of social control, from interactions during free time to classroom interactions.

As discussed (7.1.2), in talk among peers, peer group members frequently tease each other, either for their 'poor' academic performance or for misbehaving. Pupils resort to similar forms of teasing during whole-group instruction in the presence of the teachers (e.g. Transcript 6, Appendix V, lines 6- 11; also excerpt 8 below). In excerpt 8 below, the English language teacher's disciplinary remarks directed at Husein (line 5) trigger a teasing activity in discourse initiated by Vasia (line 6).

Excerpt 8 (context 1, 19/3/99, with the English language teacher; For a complete Transcript, see Transcript 8, Appendix V)

5Δασκάλα	= Χουσείν . *acc* πάρτο βιβλίο σου κ' έλα δω=
5Teacher	**=Husein take your book and come ((and sit over)) here=**
6Βάσια	= Χουσεί::ν . πάρε το βιβλίο σου κ' έλα εδώ::hh=
6Vasia	**=Husein take your book and come ((and sit over)) here=**
7Κώστας	=*f* τυχερέ: Χουσεί:ν=
7Costas	**=lucky you Husein=**
8Δασκάλα	=*acc* ΕΛΑ ΔΩ=
8Teacher	**=come ((and sit over)) here=**
	((Ο Χουσείν σηκώνεται και πάει να αλλάξει θέση))
	((Husein gets up to change seats))
9Χουσείν	=*acc* (hh) ποιά; (hh)ποιά; ((θέση))
9Husein	**=which one? which one? ((which seat))**

10Μπάμπης *p* τυχερέ [Χουσείν
10Babis **lucky [you Husein**
11Τουτζάι [ω- ω- *acc* ποιά ποιά; α:::.
11Tuncay **[oh oh which ((one)) which ((one))? ah**
12Φάνης Τούτζα . *acc* ποιά ποιά; . ((ο Χουσείν κάνει πως σηκώνεται
12Fanis **Tunca which one which one? ((Husein pretends he's standing up))**
13 από τη θέση του)) α- . *f* με κυνηγάει κυρία ..
13 **ah he's after me Miss**

The play frame is co-constructed over 7 turns and elicits the participation of Vasia (line 6), Costas (line 7), Babis (line 10), Tuncay (line 11), Fanis (lines 12- 13) as well as that of the target (Husein, line 9). Through such teasing activities, pupils expose their peers' misconduct in the centre of classroom talk, as they would have done in exchanges during free time and lunchtime (e.g. Transcript 7, Appendix V, lines 2- 3). As shown in excerpt 8 above, the teasing activity is developed regardless of the presence of the teacher and her sustained orientation towards the class management frame (lines 5, 8).

On their part, teachers attempt to re-establish control over the development of turn-taking, topic and frame and re-affirm their authority and power at a local interactional level (6.3.5). They do so by: (1) keeping silent and by avoiding to respond to playful talk (e.g. excerpt 8 above, 'έλα δω', 'come ((and sit over)) here' line 8) and (2) by opting for a re-negotiation of the main classroom frame back to instruction or class management (e.g. Transcript 6, Appendix V, 'λοιπόν', 'so' line 10 and 'άρα Τουτζάι', 'therefore Tuncay' line 12) (cf. Ribeiro 1996; for similar findings in doctor-patient exchanges) [140].

By maintaining a firm orientation towards instructional frames, teachers manage to curtail the development of play frames in the centre of classroom discourse: in the end,

[140] Ribeiro (1996) discusses how reframings during a medical interview in the direction of 'the social encounter' proposed by the patient is responded to by the doctor. She shows that the doctor responds to these reframing by shifting to 'the medical encounter', with the purpose of regaining control of the interview and reframing the interaction (: 188).

play frames trial off, as pupils re-orient to instructional frames. This means that, even though, via playful talk, pupils attempt to resist and undermine teacher authority and power at a local level, teachers usually have the last word in the struggle over frame development in classroom talk (cf. Baynham 1996). This finding highlights what Macbeth (1991) has identified as 'the teacher's prerogative to shape and direct next turns' in classroom discourse (: 285).

As a result, teachers marginalise fronstage playful talk in classroom discourse. Via frame shifts, pupils and teachers are engaged in interactional work whose aim is to forward opposing goals: from the part of the pupils to (temporarily) bring playful talk to the centre of classroom discourse, whereas from the part of the teachers to downplay it and allocate it a place in its margins (cf. 6.3.5).

Although pupils initiate and participate in most occurrences of fronstage playful talk, as shown (6.3.3), teachers occasionally introduce and take part in similar encounters. Through such uses of fronstage playful talk (e.g. teacher-initiated ritual threats, e.g. Transcript 10, Appendix V, line 6, 'Κώστα θα σε δείρω', 'Costas you're in for a good smacking'), teachers temporarily foreground a legitimate, albeit limited, role for playful talk in the official classroom discourse. This means that pupils do not exclusively employ playful talk as a resource during whole-group instruction.

At a discourse level, the purpose of such teacher-initiated ritual threats is to discipline pupils for minor breaches of conduct (such as teasing their peers), rather than to

physically punish them (6.3.5) [141]. In her discussion on verbal play in Greece, Hirschon (1992) remarks on the frequency with which Greek adults employ ritual threats toward children 'without there necessarily being a follow-through in action' (: 38) [142]. These findings, Hirschon argues, point to:

> a considerably greater degree of freedom to dissociate words from actions, that there is a lack of accountability for verbal utterances, and that this applies to many more contexts than is admissible in standard English (: 38-39).

In this context, teacher-initiated ritual threats are not surprising and should be seen as culture-specific aspects of Greek verbal discourse. In addition, such instances of playful talk aim at mitigating the threat of becoming the target of the teachers' disciplinary remarks. In other words, by shifting footing from an instructional frame to a play frame, teachers exploit playful talk as a resource to address their pupils' public face needs (cf. Papaefthymiou-Lytra 1990, for similar findings in the English foreign language classroom; also, Ragan 1990 in medical discourse) [143]. The fact that such ritual threats are systematically employed in adult-child exchanges further mitigates these disciplinary remarks, as pupils recognise them as mock threats.

At an inter-personal level, by exhibiting an ability and willingness to produce playful talk, teachers negotiate a non-institutional social persona (cf. Baynham 1996). While still engaging in disciplining their pupils, via playful talk, teachers also enhance their personal relations with them (Lytra 2002a). Since the playful talk they produce invariably triggers

---

[141] Note that in more serious cases of misconduct, teachers resort to harsher disciplining measures (e.g. the English language teacher's response to Husein bothering Bahrye, in Transcript 7, lines 5,8, Appendix V).
[142] In addition, Hirschon (1992) states that such ritual threats are not confined to adult-children exchanges, but also feature in interactions among peers (e.g. Vasia's mock threat to Babis, Transcript 5, Appendix IV, lines 6, 8 'αχ θα τον σκοτώσω', 'I'm gonna kill him').
[143] Ragan (1990), in particular, discusses how via verbal play a nurse practitioner mitigates the threat of the gynaecological physical examination.

laughter from the pupils' part (e.g. Transcript 10, Appendix V, line 7), it provides an interlude to the lesson.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that while foregrounding non-institutional social personas, teachers are still orienting to their teacher identities and roles that give them the right to introduce sequences of reproach in classroom talk. In fact, the ritual threats they employ in their playful talk, such as 'Κώστα/Φάνη θα σε δείρω', 'Costas/Fanis you're in for a good smacking' imply an inequality of power among interactants: whereas teachers have license to employ ritual threats to discipline their pupils, pupils never reciprocate (cf. Hirschon 1992). This is further collaborated by the fact that, as in instances of pupil-initiated frontstage playful talk, teachers rapidly recoil to their primarily institutional personas. By avoiding to produce more playful talk beyond a single turn and shifting to instructional frames instead, teachers attempt to dictate the duration of playful talk and curtail its role in classroom discourse.

Besides teacher-initiated ritual threats, playful talk emerges in teacher assessments (6.3.3). The English language teacher in particular employs playful talk, such as 'είναι μεγάλη κοτσάνα' ('it would be a very silly mistake', line 5, Transcript 6, Appendix V) to precipitate possible mistakes in the foreign language. By resorting to playful talk in assessments, the teacher is reinforcing a point she is trying to make, thereby promoting learning, while simultaneously enhancing her inter-personal relations with her pupils, by presenting a non-institutional persona (Lytra 2001).

Indeed, such instances of teacher-initiated playful talk are usually incongruent with talk preceding the assessments, as they evoke informal talk among peers or equals. On the

part of the pupils, teacher-led playful talk elicits playful uptakes, which present a break in the monotony of the lesson (like teacher-initiated ritual threats discussed earlier in this section) (e.g. Transcript 6, Appendix V, lines 6-9).

These findings indicate that in the foreign language classroom playful talk is allocated a broader range of uses than in the other classes. This could reflect the English language teacher's teaching style, which overall exhibits a higher degree of tolerance towards pupil-led frontstage playful talk compared to the two other teachers, who taught the 4th graders. Besides teacher-led playful talk, the English language teacher exploits pupil-initiated frontstage playful talk in order to promote foreign language learning among her pupils (e.g. to positive assess them, see excerpt 9 below, line 7) (cf. Papaefthymiou-Lytra 1986).

On this issue, the facilitative power of pupil-led playful talk in enhancing second/foreign language learning has been well documented across settings at school. For instance, bilingual classroom research demonstrates that pupil-led playful talk can aid children with developing proficiencies in the language of the broader community to learn how to read (Gregory 1990). Moreover, the literature on multilingual/multicultural school playgrounds foregrounds the role of play and playful talk in helping second language learners actively participate in playground routines and activities (Marsh 2001; Russell 1986).

In this context, for the pupils, playful talk becomes a versatile resource in foreign language learning. They can resort to it in order to mask ignorance of or uncertainty about aspects of the foreign language, especially since some of them (mainly the Greek-

Turkish bilinguals) are novice English foreign language learners (see 3.4.1). Moreover, playful talk can be used as a means to experiment with aspects of the foreign language without losing face. For instance, in the following excerpt, Husein is trying to complete an English language drill. To mask his uncertainty regarding the pronunciation of the final 's' in 'bananas' (line 2), he makes use of playful talk, which takes the form of alternating between the two sibilants [s] and [z].

Excerpt 9 [144] (context 1, 30/3/99, with the English language teacher)

1Teacher	*f dec* there a::re=
2Husein	**=*f acc* there ares .. banana-s:: . z:: =**
3Tuncay	=s::: . [s::
4Δασκάλα	[*f dec* there are . χωρίς 'σ'...
4Teacher	**[there are without the final 's'**
5Τουτζάι	σ::=
5Tuncay	**s::=**
6Husein	=*dec* there are[r:::
7Δασκάλα	[μπρά::βο .. έτσι- . 'r::'
7Teacher	**[well done that's the way ((to pronounce it)) 'r'**
8Τουτζάι	hhh .
8Tuncay	**hhh**
9( )	*p* ρ:[:
9( )	**r::[:**
10Husein	[r:: . *ff* banana::s
11Giannis	*f* s::::::::::::
12Τουτζάι	hhhh=
12Tuncay	**hhh=**
13Δασκάλα	=πάμε στο τέταρτο καλάθι . το τέταρτο καλάθι
13Teacher	**=let's move on to the fourth basket the fourth basket**

In this excerpt, Husein attempts to complete the language drill, by relying on the playful alternation of sibilants [s] and [z] (line 2) and on the emphatic trilling of the [r] (line 6). His prosodic manipulations attract playful uptakes by other pupils, who repeat the sibilant [s] and the trilled [r] (lines 3, 5, 9, 11), as well as considerable laughter (8, 12). On her

[144] Note that part of this excerpt is in English and part of it is in Greek. I have marked in bold only those turns that have been translated into English.

part, consistent with teacher responses in the data under study (6.3.5), the teacher avoids responding to Husein's prosodic manipulations. Instead, she pursues the instructional frame by focusing on his pronunciation in English and exploits his rendition of the trilled [r] as an opportunity to positively assess him (line 7).

Such occasions highlight the English language teacher's awareness of the value of playful talk for foreign language learning, which she exploits, as she engages in scaffolding Husein's answer. In this context, in the English language classroom, playful talk is transformed into a tool to facilitate foreign language learning. The facilitative power of playful talk becomes all the more important, since most Greek-Turkish bilinguals did not have any exposure to formal English language instruction other than that provided at school [145].

Overall, the findings discussed in this section collaborate the emergent literature on redefining what counts as classroom talk and reconceptualising the classroom order (e.g. Candela 1999; MacBeth 1990, 1991; Kambanelis 2001). In particular, as discussed, by transporting playful talk from the periphery to the centre of classroom talk, pupils attempt to negotiate a place for playful talk in the forefront of classroom discourse. In doing so, they contest teacher authority and power, at a local interactional level. In this respect, although institutional asymmetries exist between pupils and teachers, by virtue of their different roles, via frontstage playful talk, pupils manage to put to test these asymmetries at least at a local turn-by-turn level (cf. Candela 1999).

[145] As mentioned (3.4.1), Greek-speaking monolinguals had started studying English earlier in private foreign language centres.

This finding comes to counter views of classroom discourse that advocate traditional hierarchical relations between teachers and pupils and the pupils' passive participation in the reproduction of classroom discourses. Instead, it indicates that the classroom order is a collaborative achievement (cf. Davis 1983; Payne & Hustler 1980). This finding is further collaborated by the fact that, through playful talk (such as teasing), pupils manage to negotiate an alternative social order other than that proposed by their teachers. This social order shares similarities with aspects of the social orders developed during break time and lunchtime at school. Via such negotiations, they put their pupil identities on hold and foreground other social identities associated with gender or the peer group (cf. Baynham 1996).

In addition, findings regarding teacher-led playful talk indicate that although its presence is restricted, through its use (e.g. ritual threats and assessments), teachers temporarily assign a legitimate role for it in classroom discourse. Moreover, via playful talk, teachers foreground, albeit temporarily, non-institutional social personas and enhance their relations with their pupils. As a result, these findings challenge:

> the long-presumed homogeneity of classroom discourse implicit in the ubiquitous initiation-response-evaluation/follow-up (IRE/IRF) genre (Kambanelis 2001: 85).

Instead, the discussion of both pupil and teacher-initiated occurrences of playful talk during whole-group instruction has shown that classroom talk is heterogeneous: it is comprised of many different activities, tasks and frames, which co-exist and interact, producing diverse and dynamic interactions (cf. Gee 1996; Gutiérrez et al. 1999; Hicks 1995).

7.3.2 The visibility of Turkish language and culture in classroom discourse

As discussed (3.1, 3.1.3), the self- and other-ascriptions of members of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi as 'Turks' have had the effect of identifying this minority community with the linguistic and cultural 'other'. Research on diversity has highlighted the use of the notion of 'culture' to account for and defend images and opinions held of the 'self' and the 'other'. In this respect, 'culture' is often presented as stable and self-contained and one's understanding of it is based on stereotypes, generalisations and accepted patterns of expectations (Blommaert & Verschueren 1998: 16-7). This notion of culture contrasts that adopted in the present thesis (cf. 1.4), notably culture as shared meanings and interpretations that are in a dialogical relationship that is based on a general recognition of cultures being fluid and heterogeneous.

In an effort to approach the linguistic and cultural 'other', the school as a social institution became the site for the implementation of two major top-down initiatives (the change of status of the school to an inter-cultural school and the introduction of a three-year pilot programme to improve teaching and learning, see 3.2.1). These two top-down initiatives led to the creation of an inter-cultural regime, which aimed at providing a more leaner-centred environment for its pupils, through respecting and understanding diversity, both at school and in respective communities. As discussed (1.2), the inter-cultural regime was influenced by emergent educational discourses in Greece, which promote linguistic and cultural diversity and pluralism (see relevant articles in Frangoudaki & Dragona 1997).

At the local school level, the inter-cultural regime is expressed through a discourse of inclusion that is based on respecting and understanding diversity, while fighting against racism and marginalisation (*survey interview 3*, 28/8/99; *survey interview 4*, 21/9/99). This discourse had come to dominate daily educational practice and was articulated in teacher-led initiatives, which sought to make links with the pupils' home cultures and community experiences (e.g. learning activities that focus on Greek and Turkish cultures, school-sponsored visits to Greek-Turkish bilingual and Greek-monolinguals' homes; see 3.2.2; also Karagiogri 1996; Magos 1996).

Besides these teacher-led initiatives, the data analysis shows that, through playful talk, Greek-Turkish bilingual 4th graders introduce elements of their home language and culture in the centre of classroom discourse. Unlike private pupil-pupil playful talk which is dominated by nicknames, one-liners and nonsense cries drawn primarily from Turkish media sources (7.1.4), public teacher-pupil playful talk is dominated mainly by linguistic and cultural references.

In particular, Greek-Turkish bilinguals initiate metalinguistic discussions about Turkish and refer in their talk to Turkish linguistic items, such as terms of endearment (e.g. 'Bahryecismi' 'my Bahrye' in Transcript 7, Appendix V, line 2) and kinship terms (e.g. 'nine' 'grandmother', 'dede' 'grandfather'). In addition, they introduce references to supernatural beings associated with the minority community's heterodox Islamic religious beliefs and practices (e.g. references to 'tekke baba' 'the father of the tekke', 'νάνος' 'the dwarf' and 'πνεύματα', 'spirits', e.g. Transcript 9, Appendix V, line 4; see also 3.1.5).

Unlike cues drawn from Turkish media sources that are employed in pupil-pupil playful talk, these references have not been transformed into contextualization cues and are not readily recognised as such by both Greek-Turkish bilinguals and Greek-speaking monolinguals. Instead, the data indicate that these references usually trigger a playful uptake by Greek-speaking monolinguals, which sometimes attracts the participation of Greek-Turkish bilinguals as well.

On the Greek-Turkish bilinguals' part, the introduction of such linguistic and cultural references, often through playful talk, demonstrates their willingness to actively contribute in providing a legitimate place for their home language and culture in the centre of classroom talk (cf. 7.1.4, for similar findings in playful talk among peers). It is worth noting that on the basis of the discourse of inclusion discussed earlier in this section, the Turkish language and culture was visible in the 4th grade class. This took the form, for instance, of teacher- and/or pupil-initiated discussions on memorable news items presented in Greek and Turkish TV and the use of bilingual dictionaries (*field-notes*, 17/2/99; see also 3.2.2). In this respect, the introduction of linguistic and cultural references is seen as reinforcing the discourse of inclusion in this particular class.

For Greek-speaking monolinguals, their peers' linguistic and cultural references provide them with the opportunity to experiment with Turkish language and culture during whole-group instruction (cf. 7.1.4, for similar findings in playful talk among peers). Indeed, the analysis of the data points to similarities in the contextualization cues from Turkish that Greek-speaking monolinguals employ to signal playful uptakes across contexts (free time, lunchtime and instruction). In particular, they resort to the repetition

of these linguistic and cultural references, either by shifting to a Greek pronunciation and hellenising the Turkish words or by closely imitating them.

For instance, in Transcript 7 (Appendix V), Meltem's playful transformation of the term of endearment 'Bahrye'cim' to 'Bahryecismi' (line 2) triggers a playful uptake by Costas and Giannis coupled by laughter (lines 3-5). The two boys tease Meltem by repeating her utterance, while stressing and hellenising the Turkish sibilant [dz] in 'Bahryedzismi'. In a similar vein to Transcript 7, in excerpt 10 below, the teacher's reference to the word 'τσαντίρι' ('tent') (line 1) triggers a playful repetition of the word by Tuncay (line 2). Subsequent to Tuncay's turn, Meltem code-switches to Turkish and produces the near homophonous Turkish word 'çandır' (also meaning 'tent') (line 3). This triggers Vasia's close imitation of the word in question in the following turn ('çadır', line 4).

Excerpt 10 (context 1, 18/3/99; with the form teacher)

1Δασκάλα	η σκηνή αυτό . τσαντίρι τέτοιο .
1Teacher	**the tent ((is)) this tent ((is)) that**
2Τουτζάι	τσαν::τίρι .
2Tuncay	**tent**
3Μελτέμ	*f çandır . çandır .*
3Meltem	**tent tent**
4Βάσια	*f ça::dır . ça::dır .*
4Vasia	**tent tent**
5Δασκάλα	πώς κοιμούνται μέσα σ' αυτό; .. δεν έχει κρεββάτια; ..
5Teacher	**how do they sleep in it ((in the tent))? does it have beds?**

Through the manipulation of vowel elongation and stress, Greek-speaking monolinguals experiment with words from Turkish. Consistent with teacher responses identified in other instances of playful talk during whole-group instruction (6.3.5), the form teacher avoids participating in playful talk. Instead, she either opts for a frame shift back to instruction (e.g. Transcript 7, Appendix V, 'λοιπόν να τελειώνουμε τί είχαμε για

σήμερα;' 'right let's finish ((with this)) what homework did we have for today?', line 6) or sustains her orientation towards the instructional frame (see line 5, in excerpt 10 above).

Teacher responses indicate that teachers treat instances of playful talk triggered by linguistic references to Turkish similar to other occurrences of playful talk during whole-group instruction. It is worth noting, however, that such instances of playful talk could have triggered opportunities for learning more about the language of the 'other'. This would have been in keeping with the discourse of inclusion that dominates teaching and learning practices in the 4th grade class. The fact that such occasions for learning are ignored only come to confirm the marginal status assigned to playful talk by teachers in classroom discourse.

As far as the Greek-Turkish bilinguals' responses to their peers' playful uptakes are concerned, the most frequent response is silence and avoiding to participate in the co-construction of playful talk. In other words, the play frames triggered by linguistic and cultural references to the Turkish language and culture are usually produced exclusively by Greek-speaking monolinguals. As Transcript 9 (Appendix V) illustrates, Greek-Turkish bilinguals may also reject the development of the play frame, which is mainly pursued by their Greek-speaking monolingual peers (in this excerpt Vasia, Giannis and Costas). They do so, by either exhibiting a shared orientation with the teacher in forwarding the instructional frame (e.g. Bahrye lines 7, 9, 22, 25, 30), or by attempting to explicitly bring the play frame to a close (e.g. Husein lines 28, 38 'τέλειωσε η κουβέντα', 'end of discussion).

These responses are in sharp contrast with the general volubility and the leadership role of Greek-Turkish bilinguals (e.g. Husein, Tuncay, Meltem) in initiating and actively participating in playful talk across contexts. On the basis of research on the multi-functionality of silences (Jaworski 1993), by avoiding participation, Greek-Turkish bilinguals appear to be signalling their resistance to such occurrences of playful talk.

As discussed (7.1.4), similar to imitations of Turkish words and phrases by Greek-speaking monolinguals during free time and lunchtime, these silences foreground ambiguities regarding the appropriateness of these playful uptakes. As in the case of imitations of Turkish words and phrases, Greek-Turkish bilinguals do not readily recognise them as cues for play. Ambiguities regarding their appropriateness are further highlighted by the fact that such instances of playful talk may be seen as ridiculing or making fun of one's home language and culture. By keeping silent and avoiding to provide an uptake, Greek-Turkish bilinguals are signalling the unsuitability of these cues in playful talk and implicitly raising issues of entitlement, without engaging in overt conflict with their Greek-speaking monolingual peers.

Overall, the introduction of linguistic and cultural references from Turkish during instruction aid in enhancing the visibility of the minority language and culture in classroom discourse and are in league with the school's inter-cultural regime. For Greek-speaking monolinguals, their peers' references provide them with the opportunity to experiment with Turkish. For Greek-Turkish bilinguals, on the other hand, the appropriation of such references tend to be contested, thereby putting to test the construction of a mixed peer group identity and its small culture.

7.3 The researcher and the peer group

As discussed (2.8), as a researcher, I was simultaneously an insider in relation to the majority language and culture and an outsider in relation to the school, its teachers and pupils. In this respect, on the one hand, for peer group members, I was seen as a representative of the adult world, which was expressed through the use of the polite term of address 'κυρία Βάλλη' ('Ms Vally'). On the other hand, I was not afforded the same institutional status as the teachers, who taught at school. Due to this in-between status, I took up the role of the 'inquirer' and was treated as a 'learner'.

Taking up these roles led to inevitable renegotiations of the relationship between the researcher and the researched. At the same time, these renegotiations gave me the opportunity to witness the process of constructing a linguistically and culturally mixed peer group identity and its small culture among the 4th graders. In particular, by avoiding to answer my clarification requests regarding aspects of their mixed peer group culture and barring my access to that information instead, peer group members reproduced among themselves a shared peer group identity. This peer group identity drew its resources from both the majority (i.e. Greek) and minority (i.e. Turkish) languages and cultures, but excluded the adult researcher from its ranks.

As research indicates, withholding information to 'outsiders' is an enduring feature of peer cultures: aspects of peer cultures are not always transparent to 'outsiders' and peer group members may bar them from accessing shared peer group knowledge (Corsaro & Eder 1990). Even though peer cultures produced in the same school may diverge substantially from one another in terms of their members' linguistic and social practices

(Eckert 2000), it is, mainly, vis-à-vis the adult world that they differ the most. Drawing on the literature on peer cultures, one of its most salient features is children and adolescents' attempts to gain control over their lives and challenge adult authority: peer group members may amuse themselves in forbidden acts (Eckert 2000), challenge and even mock teachers and other adults (Corsaro 1985; Davies 1982) and find ways to circumvent adult authority (Corsaro & Eder, 1990).

Challenges to adult authority at a local level can take the form of resorting to a series of strategies of avoidance in addressing the researcher's clarification requests. By barring access to shared peer group background knowledge and engaging in what McDermott & Tylbor (1995) refer to as 'conversational collusion' instead, peer group members succeed in (re-)producing among themselves a common peer group identity, which excludes the adult researcher.

For instance, as Transcript 3 (Appendix V) illustrates, in retaliation to Tuncay's remarks, Husein introduces a name-calling activity in discourse, in which he makes use of the cue 'Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι' ('Bronze Moon') [146]. In order to clarify the meaning of this cue, I make three bids for the floor (lines 9, 12 and 20). Instead of eliciting an answer, the first request triggers collaborative teasing by Costas and Husein (lines 10- 11), during which the two boys cooperate in concealing the meaning of the cue. In the second attempt (line 12), I am overlapped by Tuncay who, instead of addressing the question, initiates a topic change, by inquiring whether I have heard of a particular Turkish singer or not (line 12). The third clarification request is overlapped by Giannis and ignored (line 20). In fact,

[146] At the time of the tape-recording, I was unaware of the fact that this cue was one of Tuncay's nicknames. Moreover, hearing this cue for the first time, I did not realise that it was a direct translation of his name in Greek (In Turkish, 'tunç' means 'bronze' and 'ay' means 'moon').

Giannis' remark with reference to the cue in question, in the next turn, ('αγόρασέ το το Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι σου άμα πια μας έπριξες', 'why don't you go and buy that Bronze Moon of yours we're fed up with this', line 19, 21) obscures its meaning further.

In a similar vein to Transcript 3 (Appendix V), in Transcript 15 (Appendix V), Babis and Husein are engaged in a name-calling activity, when the latter introduces the cue 'Κόλλια' ('Kollia') in discourse (line 3) [147]. As in the case of the cue in Transcript 3, its use attracts my interest and I directly ask Husein what this word means (line 6). My repeated requests for clarification concerning the meaning of the cue 'Κόλλια' ('Kollia') (lines 7, 9, 11-12), however, are responded to in such ways that it is not transparent what the word really means. In particular, in their answers, both Husein and Babis make allusions to the word 'Κόλλια' ('Kollia'), either as something I am wearing ('Κόλλια αυτό φοράς', 'Kollia that's what you're wearing', line 8), or as something one of them is wearing ('να φοράω Κόλλια κυρία φοράω Κόλλια', 'look I'm wearing Kollia Ms I'm wearing Kollia', line 13), without, however, specifying what this is. When I try to clarify what this object is by giving an example (e.g. the blouse she is wearing) (line 13), I am ignored, as Husein has already physically disengage himself from our conversation and has resumed his active participation in the name-calling activity (line 9), while Babis is following his footsteps (line 15).

It is worth noting that the meaning of these cues was revealed to me on other, less playful occasions. As mentioned (2.5), the peer group members' overall willingness to share information with me during fieldwork contrasted the withholding of information on these

[147] At the time, I did not know that it was Giannis' surname and I was not familiar with the fact that it was homophonous with the word ('kolya'), which means 'necklace' in the local Turkish variety of Gazi.

two occasions. It is possible that this withholding of information could be associated with the interactional moment that I had chosen to clarify the meaning of the two cues: in both cases, prior to the initial clarification questions, a name-calling activity was under way. As name-calling and teasing activities in the data have flexible rules regarding their target (5.4.2), by asking these clarification questions at those particular moments I triggered teasing activities in discourse, in which inadvertently I found myself in the position of the target for teasing.

As mentioned earlier in this section, the responses the researcher's clarification requests elicit point to what McDermott & Tylbor (1995) have termed as acts of 'collusion'. By collaboratively making use of conversational strategies such as: (1) avoiding answering the clarification requests and initiating a topic shift; (2) resorting to teasing and (3) responding in ways that are not transparent to one who does not share background knowledge regarding peer group nicknames, peer group members are effectively barring my access to common peer group knowledge. Through their responses, they increase my confusion regarding the meaning of these cues, while reproducing an exclusive peer group identity that is based on shared assumptions and associations (Lytra 2002c).

On these occasions, the peer group members' unwillingness to address my clarification questions puts the research agenda temporarily on hold, notably it hinters the discovery of the meaning of the cues in question. At the same time, however, these occasions come to enrich my understanding of the process of a mixed peer group identity formation vis-à-vis the adult world (as represented by the researcher). In particular, by excluding those unfamiliar with the 4th grade peer group's small culture, peer group members successfully

manage to affirm their autonomy and highlight their distinctiveness vis-à-vis that adult world. In addition, by avoiding to respond to the clarification questions, they are contesting adult authority and power at a local level (cf. Corsaro 1985; Davies 1982): ironically Babis continues addressing me as 'κυρία' ('Ms', line 12), hence foregrounding my adult, institutional identity, while he sustains the teasing (cf. Petrits 1991).

As an ethnographer and researcher, these occasions increase my awareness of the ambiguities in the relationship between the researcher and the researched during fieldwork and the conflicting goals one has to juggle: while wishing to establish comfortable inter-personal relations with peer group members as an individual (which include being able to engage in playful talk), as a researcher, I still needed to elicit specific information regarding their linguistic and cultural resources and practices.

Overall, these instances of peer group members' interactability aided in establishing more comfortable relationships with the researched which had a positive long-term impact on the research. Moreover, these occasions brought forth what has been repeatedly shown in ethnographic research, namely that both the researcher and the researched collaboratively construct the research agenda and that the two are not in a straightforward hierarchical relationship (cf. Harvey 1992).

7.4 Conclusion

Drawing on findings from the preceding chapters (3-6), in this chapter I discussed, how through playful talk, peer group members, their teachers and the researcher constructed social identities, roles and social relations. The findings were discussed and interpreted in terms of three types of playful talk, based on participant configurations: (1) playful talk

among peers; (2) pupil-teacher playful talk and (3) peer group members-researcher playful talk.

The discussion of the data (7.1-7.3) showed that, in playful talk among peers, peer group members ascribed to themselves and others multiple social identities and roles. For instance, through cross-sex teasing and same-sex collaboration against a common target, they signalled their gendered identities: for female peer group members, these instances of playful talk provided them with the opportunity to negotiate female identities, which exhibited a disengagement from traditional female roles of passivity. For male peer group members, on the other hand, these encounters aided them in further reinforcing traditional male roles, according to which aggressiveness and toughness are regarded as important qualities.

At the same time, the discussion of the data illustrated that identity ascriptions were often contested. For instance, via the use of one-liners, songs and cries drawn from the majority (Greek) language and culture, peer group members signalled their knowledge of mass media and popular/youth cultures. Because of the centrality of mass media and popular culture in their lives, being competent in the use of media-inspired references in playful talk afforded social capital to its users and constructed social boundaries of belonging. In this context, when Greek-speaking monolinguals challenged their Greek-Turkish bilingual peers' use of such cues in playful talk, they also questioned their access to these linguistic and cultural resources from the majority (Greek) language and culture and indirectly undermined their claims to a bilingual/bicultural identity.

These challenges, however, were not unidirectional: Greek-Turkish bilinguals also erected boundaries of exclusion within the peer group. For instance, by barring their Greek-speaking monolingual peers' access to knowledge regarding aspects of their home (Turkish) language and culture, such as the meaning of one-liners from Turkish TV, they claimed sole ownership of these cues and threatened the process of constructing a mixed peer group identity (7.1.4; see also 7.2.2).

It is worth highlighting that boundaries between peer group members were not only formed along the lines of ethnicity or cultural/linguistic difference. Instead, as teasing and name-calling exchanges showed, peer group members united across linguistic and cultural backgrounds in exploiting playful talk as a means for social control. In this respect, it was illustrated how, for instance, Bahrye and Vasia collaboratively teased Babis for making a spelling mistake and in doing so cast themselves as the 'good' pupils as opposed to Babis, who was alter-cast as the 'bad' pupil.

Moreover, peer group members crossed boundaries vis-à-vis their teachers and the researcher, who represented the adult world at school. In particular, by engaging in playful talk during whole-group instruction, they put forth a social order of their own as an alternative to the classroom order proposed by their teachers. As shown (7.2.1), this social order resembled those of the school playground and dining hall. In doing so, peer group members negotiated social identities other than that of the 'pupil', such as identities associated with gender and the peer group. In addition, they colluded in teasing the researcher and barring her access to shared peer group knowledge, by capitalising on

her ignorance and confusion regarding the meaning of specific cues they used in playful talk.

Consequently, the discussion of the data demonstrated that peer group members oriented to multiple, and potentially contradictory, social identities and roles at school (cf. 1.8). These identity ascriptions were fluid, emergent and under constant negotiation triggering processes of boundary-levelling and boundary-raising, both within the peer group and in relation to the teachers and the researcher. Moreover, these identity ascriptions depended on both local (e.g. participants, setting) and global (e.g. national discourses regarding the self and the 'other') contexts.

Equally importantly, the investigation of social identities and roles at school through the lens of playful talk foregrounded the emergence of a linguistically and culturally mixed peer group identity and its small culture. Adopting a small culture perspective, as proposed by Holliday (1999), culture was investigated in terms of cohesive social groupings, their activities and practices (in our case the 4th grade peer group) (cf. 1.4). In this context, the discussion of the data pointed to the following micro-processes that contributed to the construction of a mixed peer group culture among the 4th graders: (1) sharing; (2) appropriating; (3) transforming; (4) localising; (5) contesting; and (6) mixing of resources (cf. 7.1.4). As illustrated, through these micro-processes peer group members engaged in macro-processes of conversion to and diversion from constructing the mixed peer group identity in question and its small culture [148].

[148] The macro- and micro-processes identified in the construction of the mixed peer group small culture will become the focus of further research.

Table 7.1. Micro- and macro-processes in constructing a mixed peer group identity and its small culture

Macro-processes	Micro-processes
(1) conversion (2) diversion	(1) sharing (2) appropriating (3) transforming (4) localising (5) contesting (6) mixing

These macro- and micro-processes were not seen as linear, mutually exclusive and unidirectional. Rather, it was shown that they operated in parallel, they could occur simultaneously and they were at times in opposition with one another. More specifically, the discussion of the data illustrated that peer group members shared resources from the majority (Greek), the minority (Turkish) languages and cultures and the English foreign language taught at school, which they appropriated and used as cues for playful talk. These cues were creatively transformed (e.g. the use of nicknames in name-calling, see 5.2.1- 5.2.2) in the local context of their peer group that had been formed in the primary school in question (cf. 3.2- 3.2.2). Sometimes, the use of certain cues was contested. Such contestations, however, were seen as part of the on-going process of constructing a mixed peer group small culture. This on-going process was characterised by both acceptance and rejection, which, as argued, was the outcome of underlying tensions between local and global contexts and discourses.

In the concluding discussion, I present the major findings of this thesis, its contributions, including pedagogical implications, and directions for future research.

Concluding discussion

Summary of research findings

This research set out to explore, how through playful talk, the members of a linguistically and culturally mixed peer group (comprised of Greek-Turkish bilinguals and Greek-speaking monolinguals) construct play frames and social identities in a primary school in Athens. Taking as a point of departure the assumption that contact encounters at school provide fertile ground for the exchange of resources among members of mixed groups, the study examined the different resources employed as cues to construct play frames. In addition, it was assumed that the school as a social institution and the teachers as its representatives play an active role in shaping both these contact situations and the types of resources that become available. Drawing on a social constructive approach to identity, the study investigated, how through playful talk, the peer group members, their teachers and the researcher make salient multiple social identities and roles at school. This approach to identity was based on the premise that, through language, interactants perform different aspects of self, which are attuned to the local conditions of their interactions and occur within and across different school contexts (introductory chapter).

The data in this study consisted of tape-recorded interactions among the 4th grade peer group members, their teachers and the researcher across settings at school. The tape-recorded data were supplemented by participant observations, semi-structured qualitative interviews, questionnaires, pupil profiles and a film on the school, where the research took place (chapter 2). The analytical framework drew on two discourse-based approaches, namely interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis. It was

further enhanced by insights from ethnography as a process of inquiry and its conceptualisation of culture as a system of practices (chapter 1). As argued (1.4), while interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis focus on talk-in-interaction, ethnography can foreground aspects of a particular community or group's practices, beliefs and ways of life in order to contextualise and interpret its members' talk (see chapter 3, for the ethnographies of the Greek Muslim community of Gazi, the primary school and the mixed peer group).

In this thesis, playful talk was seen as a super-ordinate category that encompasses verbal activities, which set up play frames. These are the following activities, as they were identified in the data: (1) teasing; (2) name-calling; (3) joking; (4) language play and (5) performance-oriented activities, which include singing, reciting, crying out and role enactments. As shown (4.5), interactants exploit a range of contextualization cues to respond to playful talk and signal the initiation, development and conclusion of play frames in discourse. These contextualization cues are: (1) nicknames; (2) one-liners; (3) songs; (4) impersonations and code-switches; (5) cries and nonsense cries; (6) fragments of poems and speeches; (7) terms of verbal abuse and (8) extra-linguistic cues (chapter 4).

The examination of playful talk revealed that its emergence in discourse depends on four micro-interactional parameters (setting, participants, task and type of group) with the participant parameter being the most important one (especially the teacher figure) and their possible combinations along an institutionality–non-institutionality continuum continuum. This continuum was constructed on the basis of combinations of institutional

(i.e. school-imposed) features that impinge upon the participants' talk across six contexts at school, as they were identified in the data. These six contexts include the following: context 1 (whole-group instructional interactions); context 2 (small-group instructional interactions); context 3 (lunchtime interactions); context 4 (task-based interactions during free time in the classroom); context 5 (interactions during free time in the classroom) and context 6 (interactions during free time in the schoolyard) (chapter 4).

The data analysis showed that there is an inverse relation between playful talk and the position of the aforementioned contexts along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum: contexts towards the institutionality end of the continuum exhibit middle to low frequency of playful talk. Contexts towards its non-institutionality end demonstrate high frequency of playful talk. This means that combinations of institutional features can function as constraints on the emergence of playful talk across contexts, because they determine the structure of interactions and participants' roles, identities, rights and obligations. Simultaneously, combinations of these features can function as resources for generating playful talk and constructing play frames in discourse. According to their position along the institutionality–non-institutionality continuum, these six contexts have been classified as non-institutionally oriented contexts (contexts 4, 5, 6) and institutionally oriented contexts (contexts 1, 2, 3) (chapter 4).

On the basis of the sequential analysis of playful talk enhanced by insights from ethnography, the most important finding of the thesis is that peer group members employ mixed resources as cues to build play frames (chapter 4). In particular, they make use of cues predominantly from the majority (Greek) language and culture. Simultaneously,

they employ a limited range of cues from the minority language and culture (Turkish) and foreign language (English) taught at school. As illustrated (4.5.1-4.5.6), a high proportion of cues draw on media and youth/popular cultures, practices and discourses, especially those associated with TV and music. Overall, it was clearly shown that peer group members import the majority of cues for playful talk from sources outside the school, thereby making use of only a limited set of cues that are related to the institutional discourses of the school and curriculum.

More specifically, the investigation of playful talk among peers in non-institutionally oriented contexts (contexts 4, 5, 6) focused on the exploration of teasing and name-calling activities (chapter 5). As indicated (4.4.6), these emerged as two of the three most frequently occurring activities in playful talk. Four key findings emerged through the analysis of teasing and name-calling activities among peer group members. Firstly, peer group members have available a dynamic repertoire of contextualization cues to initiate and participate in playful talk. In other words, their repertoire of cues is not fixed, but it is under constant construction, through experimentation with new cues.

Secondly, peer group members share, negotiate and renew a set of assumptions and associations, which helps them to understand the meaning of these cues, and, as a rule, to interpret them playfully. As discussed (5.3), these shared assumptions and associations draw on aspects of the peer group members' characteristics, traits, life histories and experiences, which they shared during the past four years of sustained daily interactions at school. As a result, it was illustrated that peer group members collaborate in creating a distinct 4th grade linguistically and culturally mixed peer group identity and its small

culture at school, by co-constructing the aforementioned repertoire of cues for playful talk and by sharing, negotiating and renewing common assumptions and associations regarding the meaning and interpretation of these cues.

Thirdly, peer group members choose from a range of responses to instances of teasing and name-calling (chapter 5). These were identified as: (1) responding playfully; (2) keeping silent; (3) testing the boundaries of playful talk and (4) calling an adult third party to intervene. These four types of responses are not mutually exclusive and that interactants can exploit any combination of responses to address teasing and name-calling in discourse. In general, the most preferred option is responding playfully (option 2). In fact, as demonstrated (5.5.1), teasing and name-calling among peers do not trigger angry responses and only seldom are they taken as personal affronts by the target (see 5.5.3).

Fourthly, while teasing and name-calling activities in non-institutionally oriented contexts (4, 5, 6) share similarities in terms cues and responses, they differ in terms of participation frameworks and frame development (chapter 5). In particular, multi-party participation emerges less frequently in context 6 (free time in the playground) than in contexts 4 and 5 (free time in the classroom), due to the setting parameter (e.g. the public space of the school yard) and the participant parameter (e.g. limited teacher supervision). In addition, play frames in context 4 are introduced and developed against a backdrop of tasks associated with language learning and language teaching. In other words, play frames occur when participants are engaged in these tasks, which set up task-oriented frames. The absence of the task parameter in the other two contexts (contexts 5- 6), however, means that play frames emerge as main frames in talk.

The examination of playful talk among peers, their teachers and the researcher in institutionally oriented contexts (contexts 1-3) revealed three significant findings (chapter 6). Firstly, overall, peer group members rely upon and transport cues from non-institutionally oriented contexts to institutionally oriented ones in order to construct play frames. An exception to the rule is instances of frontstage playful talk during whole-group instruction (context 1). In context 1, peer group members selectively employ cues, which they and their teachers can readily recognise and interpret playfully. In other words, they avoid using cues that require common peer group background knowledge to understand, thereby signalling their sensitivity to the presence of teachers as ratified recipients of playful talk. Simultaneously, via this monitoring of cues, they control teacher access to aspects of their peer group small culture and exclude them from gaining insights into it.

Secondly, as a rule, peer group members respond to both pupil- and teacher-initiated playful talk during whole-group instruction (in context 1) playfully, thereby opting to sustain the play frame. On their part, although teachers overall tolerate the emergence of playful talk in classroom discourse, they allocate a marginal position for it in classroom talk, by systematically avoiding participation (with the exception of the English foreign language teacher) (chapter 6). More specifically, it was shown that teachers marginalise playful talk in classroom discourse, by: (1) ignoring pupils' solicitations to intervene on their behalf in instances of backstage playful talk; (2) limiting their contributions of playful talk to a single turn and refusing to provide further uptakes during occurrences of frontstage playful talk; (3) consistently supporting instructional frames as main classroom

frames (4) bringing play frames to an end, via the initiation of frame shifts to instruction and (5) relying on a small set of cues to signal play frames.

Thirdly, apart from the peer group members' monitoring of cues in fronstage playful talk (in context 1) institutionally oriented contexts differ in terms of participation frameworks and frame development. In particular, in backstage playful talk (in context 1), play frames are produced exclusively by pupils, in the margins of classroom discourse and occur in parallel with instructional frames, that occupy the centre of classroom discourse. In frontstage playful talk, however, participation in the construction of play frames is enlarged, as peer group members make a bid to transport playful talk to the very centre of classroom talk. On these occasions, play frames can occur either embedded in instructional frames or simultaneously with them. Such simultaneous occurrences of play frames with instructional frames may lead to a schism of the classroom floor and the development of forked frames.

Moreover, play frames developed during small-group instruction (context 2) and lunchtime (context 3) share similarities with both backstage and frontstage playful talk. In particular, regarding small group instruction, play frames are limited to members of the small group and are embedded in instructional frames. Concerning lunchtime interactions, play frames are confined to those having lunch together and are developed against a backdrop of activities associated with having lunch.

To interpret these findings, the relationship between playful talk, play frames and social identity construction was discussed in terms of three types of playful talk based on the participation frameworks identified in the data: (1) playful talk among peers; (2) pupil-

teacher playful talk and (3) peer group members-researcher playful talk (chapter 7). The investigation of these three types of playful talk provided a window into social identity construction, including the construction of a linguistically and culturally mixed peer group identity and its small culture. This latter discussion has revealed the interplay of two macro-processes (conversion and diversion) and six micro-processes (sharing, appropriating, transforming, localising, contesting and mixing) in constructing the mixed peer group identity and its small culture in question.

Research contributions

- This thesis was intended as an empirically-based investigation of playful talk, play frames and social identity construction among the members of a linguistically and culturally mixed peer group, their teachers and the researcher across six contexts in an Athenian primary school. In this respect, it provides grass-roots research to complement the limited sociolinguistics literature on linguistic minorities and (bi-)multilingual/cultural schools and classrooms in Greece (cf. Sella-Mazi 1997a, 1999a).

- In this thesis, the research scope of playful talk was expanded to include verbal activities such as singing, crying out and role enactments, which have received limited attention, unlike teasing and joking that have traditionally dominated sociolinguistic and anthropological linguistic studies (e.g. Straehle 1993; Boxer & Cortés-Conde; Miller 1986; Schieffelin 1986). To probe into how the different verbal activities identified in the data set up play frames, this study explored the contextualization cues, participation frameworks and participant responses to

play, via the sequential analysis of playful talk coupled with insights from ethnography. In this context, the investigation of the emergence, development and closing of play frames provides a valuable contribution to the limited research on playful talk across contexts at school (e.g. Eder 1991, 1993, 1995; Rampton 1999; Tholander 2002).

- The examination of the contextualization cues used to construct play frames highlighted the relationship between media sources and playful talk: the centrality of media and popular/youth cultures in providing one of the main sources for contextualization cues. The centrality of media sources in the peer group members' playful talk complements similar findings regarding school-based peer groups in different countries (e.g. in the UK school context, see Grugeon 2001a; Marsh 2001; Rampton 1995; in the US school context, see Minks 1999; Haas-Dyson 1997).

- The investigation of playful talk in classroom discourse and the identification of the two types of playful talk in whole-group instructional interactions (backstage and frontstage playful talk) illustrated the significance of widening the scope of study of classroom discourse to include the examination of: (1) both public and private pupil-pupil talk and (2) of structures other than the initiation-response-evaluation/follow-up genre. By shedding light to 'marginalised' practices in classroom talk, this line of inquiry complements current research trends, which focus on exploring the heterogeneity of classroom talk (e.g. Candela 1999; Gee 1996; Gutiérrez et al. 1999; Kambanelis 2001; Rampton 1995, 1999).

- The investigation of playful talk and social identity construction illustrated the importance of viewing social identity construction as a dynamic process that is context-bound (Gumperz 1982a; Moreman 1974, 1988; Norton 2000; Ochs 1993). Based on the premise that identities are discursively constructed, through playful talk, peer group members projected multiple identities, that were, at times, contradictory (identities associated with gender, youth/popular cultures, linguistic/cultural backgrounds, the peer group as well as the roles of the 'pupil' and 'second/foreign language learner'). Concerning the construction of a mixed peer group identity in particular, the examination of social identity construction revealed the inter-play of two macro-processes (conversion and diversion) and six micro-processes (sharing, appropriating, transforming, localising, contesting and mixing).

- The discussion of the construction of a linguistically and culturally mixed peer group in particular demonstrated how national discourses influence the perceptions of the self and the 'other' at the local levels of the community, the school and the peer group (cf. Chouliaraki [forthcoming]; Herzfeld 1987; Soysal & Antoniou 2001). Taking the reproduction of dominant national discourses as a point of departure, this study enhances our understanding of the contradictory perceptions and conflicting attitudes that dominate national and local discourses (in our case in Gazi) regarding majority (Greek) and minority (Turkish) languages and cultures and how these discourses filter through and influence playful talk at school.

- Methodologically, the integration of the two approaches to discourse (interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis) with ethnography as a method of enquiry proved useful for the investigation of playful talk and social identities at school. The integration of these approaches had the benefit of enhancing the investigation of talk-in-interaction with insights from ethnography in order to contextualise, understand and interpret the tape-recorded data (cf. Goodwin 1990; Heller 1999; Moreman 1988; Rampton 1995).

- The process of ethnographic inquiry brought forth the significance of the relationship between the researcher and the researched. This issue highlighted how encounters between the researcher and the researched serve to increase our awareness of the ambiguities in the relationship between the two parties, enrich our understanding of this relationship and probe into ways it influences the research agenda and the data collected (cf. see relevant articles in Cameron et al 1992; also Fabian 1991, 1995).

The examination of playful talk during instruction foregrounded the importance of exploring the pedagogical implications of this study. Due to recent migration from abroad and population movements from the periphery to urban centres from the 1990s onwards, schools and classrooms in Greece have increasingly become more (bi-)multilingual and (bi-)multicultural (e.g. Birbili 1994; Katsikas & Politou 1999; see also relevant articles in Vafea 1996). This new educational reality in Greece requires that the teachers have a higher level of linguistic and cultural awareness than in the past.

Language awareness is defined as 'a person's sensitivity to and conscious perception of the nature of language and its role in human life' (Candlin 1992, reported in Papaefthymiou-Lytra 1997: 105). According to Carter & McCarthy (1994), there are three broad parameters where language awareness raising can take place. These are related to form, function and socio-cultural meaning (ibid: 106). While focus on form and function deal with raising awareness regarding language as a system and language in use respectively, focus on socio-cultural meaning leads to cultural awareness raising. Given that culture permeates language use, cultural awareness is intricately linked to language awareness and includes (1) 'awareness of participants' own cultural values and unstated cultural assumptions' and (2) 'awareness of the problems that arise in communicating with people of other cultures and making use of appropriate communicating strategies to resolve possible problems' (ibid: 107). Following from the above, the ultimate aim of linguistic and cultural awareness is to develop critical awareness (cf. Fairclough 1992).

Raising the teachers' linguistic and cultural awareness regarding their monolingual and bilingual pupils' languages and cultures and the foreign language taught at school can, in turn, aid them in increasing their pupils' awareness. In the context of this thesis, rather than regarding instances of playful talk as 'marginal' phenomena, teachers can exploit them as valuable points of entry into understanding and appreciating different languages and cultures. In other words, rather than ignoring instances of playful talk, teachers need to be aware of their learning and teaching potential. More importantly, raising the teachers and pupils' linguistic and cultural awareness can reduce the development of what Holliday (1999) refers to as 'otherisation process'. This is defined as 'the process whereby the "foreign" (whether the minority language and culture or the foreign

language taught at school) is reduced to a simplistic, exotic or degrading stereotype' (: 245).

To successfully influence daily classroom practices and minimise the effects of 'otherisation', the development of the teachers' overall critical awareness needs to be incorporated in teacher training and in-service training courses. In addition, developing the pupils' critical awareness (of majority and minority languages and cultures as well as of the foreign language taught at school) needs to become an important component of syllabus and curriculum design and of teaching and learning material. The purpose of such critical awareness development will be to address the (bi-)multi-lingual/cultural realities and opportunities for learning in present day schools and classrooms in Greece. As it has been shown in this study, playful talk can function as a significant resource towards that direction for both teachers and pupils alike.

Directions for further research

It is hoped that the present study will generate further grass-roots research regarding contact encounters between majority and minority members in (bi-) multilingual/cultural schools and classrooms in Greece. In particular, further sociolinguistic research in Greece should focus on (bi-)multilingual/cultural classrooms and examine more closely the role of schools as social institutions and of teachers as their representatives in disseminating and reproducing dominant national discourses (including a homogeneous Greek national identity) in contact situations (see relevant articles in Fragkoudaki & Dragona 1997).

Taking the reproduction of dominant national discourses at schools and in Greek society at large as a point of departure, future sociolinguistic research should investigate

linguistic and cultural attitudes towards the majority and minority languages and cultures in contact encounters across ages. This line of research will further enhance our understanding of the macro-processes (conversion and diversion) and micro-processes (sharing, appropriating, transforming, localising, contesting and mixing) identified in the data and how they impinge upon contact situations. In this context, future research should probe into macro- and micro-processes across contact encounters in both schools and communities (e.g. in school-sponsored excursions to museums and exhibitions, playgrounds, the market) as well as explore interactions between adults.

In addition, future research should investigate playful talk across different grades in order to illuminate potential variation in playful talk. While the focus of this thesis has been on a linguistically and culturally mixed 4th grade peer group, investigating playful talk across grades may reveal age-specific patterns of language use in playful talk. It may point to different processes of constructing a linguistically and culturally mixed peer group identity and its small culture at school and it may highlight the centrality of specific social identities (e.g. gender, peer group identities and so on) over others for particular age groups.

Last but not least, it is worth examining further the role of English as the foreign language taught in primary schools in Greece and issues of trilingualism this may raise. In this context, future research should focus on how the foreign language and culture can help alleviate frictions between majority and minority languages and cultures as a new, commonly shared code among all pupils (cf. Kramsch 2000).

On the basis of the areas for further research discussed above, it is hoped that the present thesis will generate more research interest in these areas and serve as a stepping-stone for improving our understanding of contact encounters both inside and outside the school setting.

APPENDIX I. DATA COLLECTION METHODS

A. PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONS

Table 1. Distribution of pupils in 4th, 5th and 6th grades

Grades	Total	Greek monolinguals [149]		Greek/Turkish bilinguals			
	Greek/Albanian bilinguals [150]						
4th	12	2F	4M	2F	3M	1F	0M
5th	21	3F	6M	3F [151]	5M	0F	4M
6th	20	5F	7M	4F	4M	0F	0M

B. THE FIVE-PART QUESTIONNAIRE (IN GREEK)

ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΟ

Α.1. Όνομα ..... 2. Τάξη ..... 3. Ηλικία .....
4. Έχεις αδελφούς; ..... 5. Πόσο χρονών είναι; .....
6. Έχεις αδελφές; ..... 7. Πόσο χρονών είναι; .....
8. Τί δουλιά κάνει ο μπαμπάς σου; .....
9. Τί δουλιά κάνει η μαμά σου; .....
10. Ζεις μαζί με τη γιαγιά σου; ..... 11. Ζεις μαζί με το παπού σου; .....

Β.1. Κάνεις κάποιο άθλημα; ..... 2. Ποιό; .....
3. Ποιοί είναι οι αγαπημένοι σου ηθοποιοί; .....
.....
4. Ποιοί είναι οι αγαπημένοι σου τραγουδιστές; .....
.....
5. Ποιές είναι οι αγαπημένες σου σειρές στην τηλεόραση; .....
.....
6. Ποιές είναι οι αγαπημένες σου ποδοσφαιρικές ομάδες; .....
.....
7. Ποιοί είναι οι αγαπημένοι σου ποδοσφαιριστές; .....
.....

[149] The term 'monolinguals' can be misleading since the majority of Greek-speaking monolinguals learned English, French and German as a foreign language outside school. Here the term 'monolinguals' is used to distinguish them from children who had as their home language one other than Greek.

[150] Note that this group should not be treated as homogeneous. The girl in 4th grade had just started school in Greece and, at the time of the fieldwork, could hardly speak any Greek. As for the boys in 5th grade, three were Albanians and one was an ethnic Greek from Albania. All four had had some schooling in Albania, prior to immigrating to Greece, and they could all speak Albanian fluently.

[151] In fact, one of the girls was a trilingual; her home language was Romany. She referred to it as 'γιούφτικα', ('giouftika' i.e. the language spoken by the Gypsies). However, to my knowledge, she never used it at school. Instead, she tended to speak Turkish with the Greek/Turkish bilinguals and Greek with the Greek- speaking monolinguals (*field-notes*, 2/4/99).

8. Ποιοί είναι οι αγαπημένοι σου μπασκετμπολίστες; .....
.....

Γ.1. Γράψε με ποιούς παίζεις στο σχολείο. .....
.....
2. Γράψε με ποιούς παίζεις στη γειτονιά ή στο σπίτι. .....
.....
3. Πού παίζεις στη γειτονιά; .....
4. Γράψε τρία πράγματα που σου αρέσει να κάνεις όταν δεν έχεις διάβασμα. .....
.....
.....
5. Τί πράγματα σου αρέσει να κάνεις μαζί με τη μαμά σου ή με το μπαμπά σου; .....
.....
.....
6. Πώς βοηθάς τη μαμά ή το μπαμπά σου; .....
.....
7. Πού πας διακοπές το καλοκαίρι; .....
8. Με ποιούς πας διακοπές; .....
9. Σε ποιά πόλη σου αρέσει να ζεις; ..... 10. Γιατί; .....
.....

Δ.1 Ποιές γλώσσες μιλάς; .....
2. Σε ποιές γλώσσες ξέρεις να γράφεις και να διαβάζεις; .....
3. Ποιές γλώσσες σου αρέσουν; .....
4. Γιατί; .....
5. Ποιές γλώσσες ξέρεις καλά; .....
6. Ποιές γλώσσες ξέρεις λίγο; .....
Ε.1. Θέλεις να πας στο γυμνάσιο; ..... 2. Γιατί; .....
.....
.....
3. Τί θέλεις να γίνεις όταν μεγαλώσεις; .....
4. Γιατί; .....
.....
5. Εδώ γράψε ό,τι άλλο θέλεις για τον εαυτό σου. .....
.....
.....

Ευχαριστώ πολύ

Βάλλη

C. THE FIVE-PART QUESTIONNAIRE (TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH)

QUESTIONNAIRE

A.1. Name ..... 2. Grade ..... 3. Age .....
4. Do you have any brothers? ..... 5. How old are they? . .....
6. Do you have any sisters? ..... 7. How old are they? .....
8. What does you father do? …… .....
9.What does your mother do? .....
10. Do you live with your grandmother? .....11. Do you live with your grandfather? ……

B.1. Do you play any sports? ..... 2. Which one? .....
3. Who are your favourite actors? .....
.....
4. Who are your favourite singers? .....
.....
5. Which are your favourite shows on TV? .....
.....
6. Which are your favourite football teams? .....
.....
7. Who are your favourite football players? .....
.....
8. Who are your favourite basketball players? …….. .....
.....

C.1. Who do you play with at school? .....
.....
2. Who do you play with in the neighbourhood or at home? .....
.....
3. Where do you play in the neighbourhood? .....
4. Write three things you like doing in your spare time. .....
.....
.....
5. What things do you like doing with your mum or dad? .....
.....
.....
6. How do you help your mum or dad? .....
.....
7. Where do you go on vacation in the summer? .....
8. Who do you go on vacation with? .....
9. Where do you like living? ..... 10. Why?.....
.....

D.1. Which languages do you speak? .....
2. In which languages do you know how to read and write? .....
3. Which languages do you like? .....
4. Why? .....

5. Which languages do you know well? .....
6. Which languages do you know little? .....

E.1. Do you want to continue your studies in junior high school? ..... 2. Why?
.....
.....
3. What would you like to do when you grow up? .....
4. Why? .....
.....
5. In the space below you can write anything you want about yourself. .....
.....
.....

Thanks

Vally

D. THE FOUR-PART PUPIL PROFILE FORMS (IN GREEK)

Α. ΒΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΑ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ

1. Όνομα
2. Επώνυμο
3.Φύλο
4. Ημ. Γέννησης
5. Ηλικία
6.Οικεγενειακή κατάσταση
7.Θρήσκευμα
8.Γλώσσες που μιλιούνται στο σπίτι
9. Ιδιαίτερα ενδιαφέροντα μαθητή
10. Εξωσχολικές δραστηριότητες μαθητή
11. Ιδιαίτερες δεξιότητες
12. Τακτικότητα φοίτησης
13. Εργάζεται
14. Άλλα στοιχεία- παρατηρήσεις

Β. ΔΕΞΙΟΤΗΤΕΣ ΕΠΙΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΣ

1. με συμμαθητές
2. με το δάσκαλο
3. με τους άλλους εκπ/κους- με το σχολείο
4. εκτός τάξης

Γ. ΕΠΙΔΟΣΗ ΑΝΑ ΜΑΘΗΜΑ

1. μαθηματικά
2. άλλα μαθήματα
3. ορθογραφία
4. τρόπος γραφής

Δ. ΓΛΩΣΣΑ

1. Επικοινωνιακή δεξιότητα
2. Λεξιλόγιο
3. Δημιουργικότητα στη γλώσσα
4. Γραμματική- συνακτικό
5. Κατανόηση- παραγωγή κειμένου
6. Συναισθηματική έκφραση μέσω γλώσσας
7. Μη λεκτική επικοινωνία
8. Αναγνωστική ικανότητα

E. THE FOUR-PART PUPIL PROFILE FORMS (TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH)

A. BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

1.Name 2. Surname 3. Sex
4. Date of Birth 5. Age
6.Family situation
7. Religion
8. Languages spoken at home
9. Special interests the pupil has
10. Extra-curricular activities in which the pupil participates
11. Particular abilities the pupil has
12. School attendance
13. Work outside school [152]
14. Other relevant information- comments

B. COMMUNICATION SKILLS

1. with his fellow classmates
2. with his form teacher
3. with other teachers- with the school administration
4. outside the classroom setting

C. PERFORMANCE ACCORDING TO SUBJECT

1. in maths
2. in all other subjects
3. in spelling
4. in handwriting

D. LANGUAGE

1. Communicative competence
2. Vocabulary
3. Creativity with language
4. Grammar- Syntax
5. Writing skills
6. Expressing one's feeling through language
7. Non-verbal communication
8. Reading skills

[152] A few years prior to my fieldwork, a few children from the Greek-Muslim community of Gazi, who attended the school in question, worked part-time as peddlers, thereby contributing to the family income. This resulted in high levels of absenteeism (*survey interview 3*, 28/8/99). At the time of the fieldwork, however, none of the children worked.

APPENDIX II. TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

A. KEY TO TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

The following transcription conventions have been adapted from Tannen, D. (1984) *Conversational Style: Analyzing Talk among Friends.* Nowood, NJ: Albex.

. sentence-final falling intonation
.. noticeable pause or break in rhythm (less than 0.5 second)
... half second pause
an extra dot is added for each half second of pause
.... full second pause
..... second and a half pause
[2.5 sec] numbers in brackets represent pauses, in seconds
‘ marks high pitch on word
? marks yes/no question rising intonation
underline marks emphatic stress
CAPS mark very emphatic stress
- marks a glottal stop, or abrupt cutting off of sound, as in ‘uh-oh’
: indicates lengthened vowel sound (extra colons indicate greater lengthening)
musical notation is used for amplitude:
f spoken loudly
ff spoken very loudly
p spoken softly
pp spoken very softly
acc spoken quickly
dec spoken slowly
The above notations continue unless otherwise noted.
Amendments:
(( )) indicates transcriber’s comments
( ) indicates transcription impossible
brackets ([ ) indicate overlapping speech and are employed where speakers A and B’s utterances start simultaneously
= indicates latching of speaker A’s utterance onto speaker B’s without perceptible pause
bold indicates English translation
italics indicates Turkish in the transcript

B. ADDITIONAL TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

The following transcription conventions regarding the transcription of laughter have been taken from Norrick, N. (1993) *Conversational Joking. Humor in Everyday Talk.* Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

(h)word indicates laughter that occurs word-initially
wo(hh)rd indicates laughter that occurs word-internally
word(hh) indicates laughter that occurs word-finally

To capture the quality of laughter (e.g. booming ha ha ha) normal orthographic conventions of Greek and English are used.

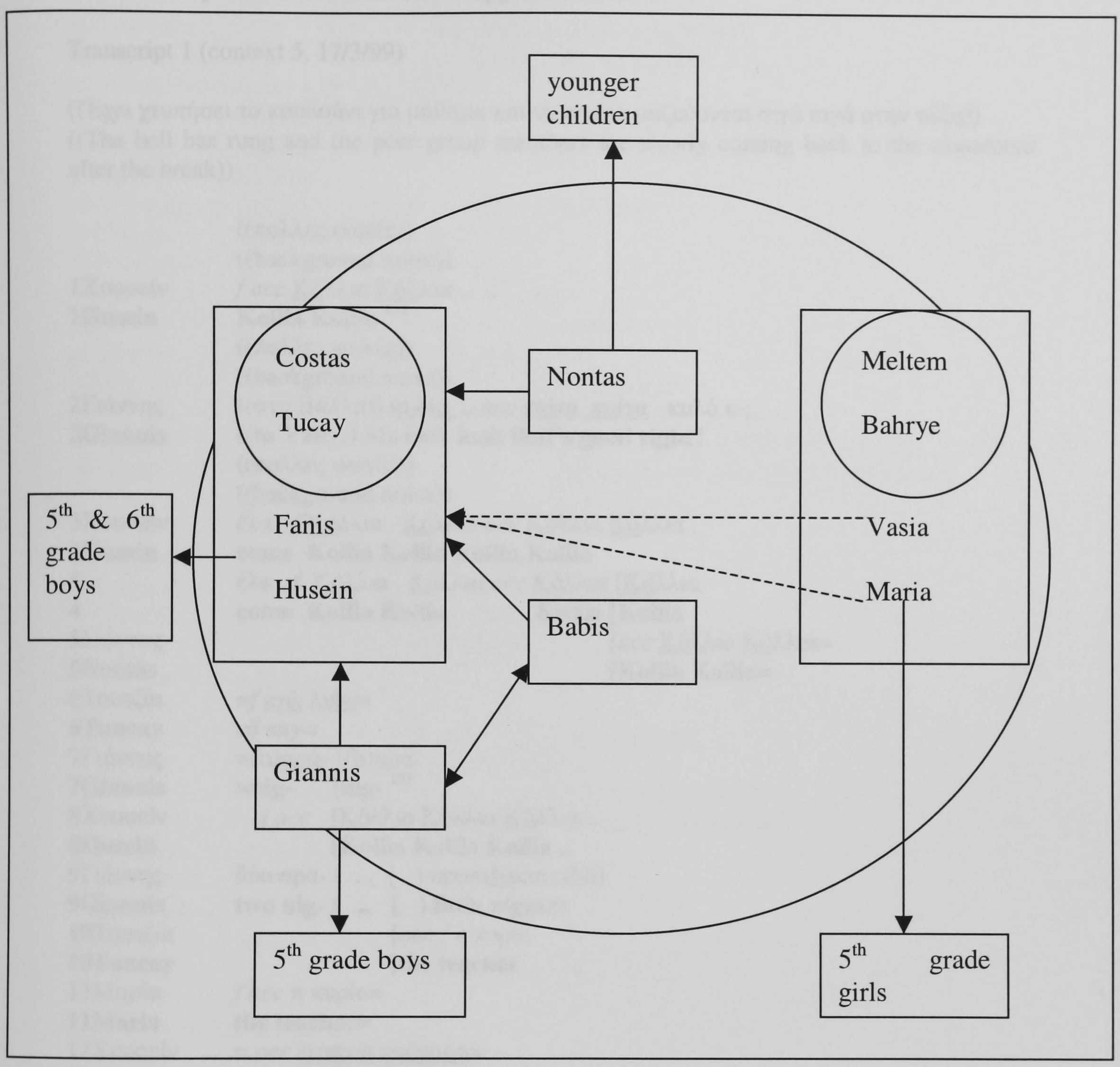
APPENDIX III. THE PEER GROUP

A. PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE 4TH GRADE CLASSROOM AND THE 4TH GRADERS [153]

[153] Permission has been given by the 4th graders to include these pictures in the thesis.

B. PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE 4TH GRADERS IN DIFFERENT SETTINGS AT SCHOOL

C. PEER GROUP FRIENDSHIP TIES: A VISUAL OVERVIEW



APPENDIX IV. TRANSCRIPTS (INTERACTIONS IN NON-INSTITUTIONALLY ORIENTED CONTEXTS)

The trascription notations are in Appendix II/A-B

Transcript 1 (context 5, 17/3/99)

((Εχει χτυπήσει το κουδούνι για μάθημα και τα παιδιά μαζεύονται σιγά σιγά στην τάξη))
((The bell has rung and the peer group members are slowly coming back to the classroom after the break))

	((πολλες φωνές))
	((background noise))
1Χουσείν	*f acc* Κόλλια Κόλλια .. ..
1Husein	**Kollia Kollia** [154]
	((πολλες φωνές))
	((background noise))
2Γιάννης	((στη Βάλλη)) κυρία .. *acc* κοίτα κοίτα . καλό ε-;
2Giannis	**((to Vally)) Ms look look that's good right?**
	((πολλές φωνές))
	((background noise))
3Χουσείν	έλα . *f* Κόλλια . Κόλλια *acc* Κόλλια Κόλλια .
3Husein	**come Kollia Kollia Kollia Kollia**
4	έλα . *f* Κόλλια . Κόλλια *acc* Κόλλια [Κόλλια
4	**come Kollia Kollia Kollia [Kollia**
5Νώντας	[*acc* Κόλλια Κόλλια=
5Nontas	**[Kollia Kollia=**
6Τουτζάι	=*f* εγώ λιέω=
6Tuncay	**=I say=**
7Γιάννης	=(h)αρά- [(h)αρά-
7Giannis	**=nig- [nig-** [155]
8Χουσείν	*f acc* [Κόλλια Κόλλια Κόλλια ..
8Husein	**[Kollia Kollia Kollia ..**
9Γιάννης	δύο αρα- (... [ ) αραπιδάκια::(hh)
9Giannis	**two nig- (... [ ) little niggers**
10Τουτζάι	[*acc f* η κυρία
10Tuncay	**[the teacher**
11Μαρία	*f acc* η κυρία=
11Maria	**the teacher=**
12Χουσείν	= *acc* έρχεται γρήγορα=
12Husein	**=she's coming quick=**
13Τουτζάι	= *acc* Κουρδι[στάν
13Tuncay	**=Kurdi[stan** [156]
14Χουσείν	[έλα . Κόλλια . *ff* Κόλλια . Κόλλια . Κόλλια=
14Husein	**[come Kollia Kollia Kollia Kollia=**
15Γιάννης	= *acc* άβε άβε Κουρδιστάν=
15Giannis	**=long live Kurdistan=**
16Τουτζάι	=*f Öcalan* . ΠΚΚ=
16Tuncay	**=Öcalan PKK=**
17Νώντας	*p* Κουρδιστάν . τί θα πει; ..

[154] 'Kollia' (vocative of 'Kollias') is Giannis' surmane/nickname (4.5.1).
[155] For the use of terms of verbal abuse as cues, see 4.5.7, 7.2.5.
[156] 'Kurdistan', 'long live Kurdistan' and 'Öcalan PKK' are cries (4.5.4).

17Nontas	**Kurdistan what does it mean?**
18	Κουρδιστάν . τί θα πει;=
18	**Kurdistan what does it mean?=**
19Βάλλη	=(… [ )
19Vally	=(**…** [ )
20Τουτζάι	*acc* [Κόλλια Κόλλια Κόλλια=
20Tuncay	**[Kollia Kollia Kollia=**
21Χουσείν	= *acc* Κόλλια Κόλλια ..
21Husein	**=Kollia Kollia**
22Κώστας	hhhhh ..
22Costas	**hhhhh**
23Χουσείν	Κόλλια . Κόλλια . *acc* Κόλλια Κόλλια=
23Husein	**Kollia Kollia Kollia Kollia=**
24Τουτζάι	= *acc* Κόλλια 2000 δραχμές ..
24Tuncay	**=Kollia/kolya [157] 2000 drachma**
25Χουσείν	*acc* Κόλλια το ΑΕΚ και το Παναθηναϊκό=
25Husein	**Kollia AEK and Panathinaikos=**
26Μελτέμ	=*dec* ο Κόλλιας .. είναι στα κλα[σσικά χρόνια
26Meltem	**=Kollias/kolyas is in the cla[ssical period .**
27Χουσείν	[*acc* σ' αγαπώ Κόλλια . σ' αγαπώ
27Husein	**[I love you Kollia/kolya I love you**
	((στριγκλιές))
	((shrieks))
28Μπαχριέ	Γιά:::ννη .. Γιάννη
28Bahrye	**Gianni Gianni**
29Χουσείν	*acc* Γιά::ννη Κό::λλια . Κόλλια . Κόλλια .
29Husein	**Gianni Kollia Kollia Kollia**
30Μπαχριέ	Γιάννη=
30Bahrye	**Gianni=**
31Χουσείν	=*p* Γιά::ννη .. Γιά::ννη .. Γιά::ννη .. Γιά::ννη ..
31Husein	**=Gianni Gianni Gianni Gianni**
	((πολλές φωνές, μπαίνει στην αίθουσα η δασκάλα))
	((background noise, the teacher enters the classroom))
32Τουτζάι	α::: κυρία:: .. εμείς εδώ (…)
32Tuncay	**ah Ms we here (…)**
33Μπάμπης	αχ- πά::λι η κυρία:::
33Babis	**oh the teacher again**

Transcript 2 (context 5, 15/3/99)

((Εχει χτυπήσει το κουδούνι για μάθημα και τα παιδιά μαζεύονται σιγά σιγά στην τάξη))
((The bell has rung and the peer group members are slowly coming back to the classroom after the break))

	((πολλες φωνές))
	((background noise))
1Μελτέμ	*f* γλυκοχαράζει η χαραυγή . λάμπουν ο ουρανός και η γη.
1Meltem	**a new day is breaking the sky and the earth are shining**
2	λάμπουν και βροντούν ταηδόνια και γλυκολαλούν ταηδόνια=
2	**the nightingales are shining and the nightingales are singing=**

[157] In lines 24-26, both possible translations of the word 'Kollia' are provided (Giannis' surname/nickname and the homophonous word 'kolya' meaning necklace in the local Turkish variety of Gazi), because it is not clear which of the two is being referred to (cf. 4.5.1).

3Χουσείν =*ff* αμπιατό:::=
3Husein **= abiato=**
4Γιάννης =*p* ο Χουσείν είναι τού:ρμπο
4Giannis **= Husein is dumb**
5Μπαχριέ ο Γιάννης είναι- . (h)να-(hh)νάι hh=
5Bahrye **Giannis is nanai [158]=**
6Χουσείν =*f* ο Γιάννης είναι *acc* (h)Κό(h)λλια . (h)Κό(hh)λλια . Κόλλια . Κόλλια
6Husein **= Giannis is Kollia Kollia Kollia Kollia**
7 ((συμμετέχουν και άλλοι)) *f* Κό::λλια Γιά::ννη:: .. Κό::λλια Γιά::ννη:: ..
7 **((others join in)) Kollia Gianni Kollia Gianni**
8 ((μόνο ο Χουσείν)) *f* Κό::λλια Γιά::ννη .. (h)Γιάνν(hh)ιη::=
8 **((only Husein) Kollia Gianni Gianni**
9Γιάννης = *p acc* αράπη Χουσεί:ν ..
9Giannis **= nigger Husein**
10Χουσείν hhhh . hhh=
10Husein hhhh hhh=
11Μπαχριέ =*acc* σταματήστε ρε
11Bahrye **=stop (re) [159]**
12Γιάννης [*p acc* αράπη Χουσεί:ν
12Giannis **[nigger Husein**
13Χουσείν [*p acc* αράπικο σα[λάτα
13Husein **[nigger salad**
14Μπαχριέ [*acc* κοίτα κει=
14Bahrye **[look there=**
15Χουσείν =*p* η Μελτέμ είναι αγελάδα
15Husein **= Meltem is a cow**
16Μπαχριέ *f* ((αρχίζει να απαγγέλει το ποίημα της))είμαστε ά[οπλοι
16Bahrye **((she starts reciting a poem)) we have no [guns**
17Νώντας [(hh) η
17Nontas **[(hh)**
18 Μελτέμ (…)=
18 **Meltem (…)=**
19Μπαχριέ =σταμάτα=
19Bahrye **=stop=**
20Χουσείν =*acc f* αγελάδα Μελτέμ=
20Husein **=Meltem is a cow [160]=**
21Κώστας =*acc f* Γιάννη Κόλλια . Γιάννη Κόλλια . Γιάννη [Κόλλια
21Costas **=Gianni Kollia Gianni Kollia Gianni [Kollia**
22Χουσείν [*acc*Γιάννη
22 **[Gianni**
23 Κόλλια=
23 **Kollia=**
24Μπαχριέ =*f acc* ποιός ξερ- . ποιός ξέρει το ποίημα του;=
24Bahrye **=who kno- who knows his poem?=**
25Μελτέμ =εγώ=
25Meltem **=I ((do))=**

---

[158] 'Nanai' here could refer to the refrain of a song that goes 'i nananai i naninanai'. As there is no video recording of the interaction, however, it is not possible to say if this word was accompanied by specific gestures that could aid in interpreting its meaning or why it was used in the name-calling activity.
[159] 'Re' is an untranslatable particle. For this reason, it is henceforth been placed in single brackets. When used among friends, 're' and its variant 'vre' denote familiarity and informality (Tannen & Kakava 1992).
[160] This is a reference to one of Meltem's nicknames (4.5.1).

26Μπαχριέ	=πες το Μελ[τέμ
26Bahrye	**=say it Mel[tem**
27Κώστας	[*f* Μετλέμ αγε[λάδα=
27Costas	**[Meltem is [a cow=**
28Μπαχριέ	[σστ
28Bahrye	**[ssst**
29Μελτέμ	=μανούλα μου [161]
29Meltem	**=oh my gosh**
	((μπαίνει μέσα η δασκάλα- ακούγονται πολλές φωνές))
	((the teacher enters the classroom- a lot of background noise))
30Μελτέμ	((τρέχει προς τη δασκάλα))) *f* κυρί::α:: …ο Γιάννης με φωνάζει
30Meltem	**((she runs towards the teacher)) Ms Giannis has been calling me**
31	.. αγελά:δα=
31	**a cow=**
32Δασκάλα	=τί;
32Teacher	**=what ((did you say))?**
33Χουσείν	άστο έτσι=
33Husein	**leave it as is=**
34Μελτέμ	*f* Κόλλια πουλάω .. ελάτε ..
34Meltem	**=I'm selling Kollia/kolya come ((and buy some))**
	((ο Μπάμπης δίνει το το φυλλάδιο στη δασκάλα))
	((Babis hands his worksheet to the teacher))
35Μπάμπης	κυρία . όλα λάθος θάναι=
35Babis	**Ms it'll be full of mistakes=**
36Δασκάλα	=αυτό το φυλλάδιο δεν έχει κανένα τόνο ..
36Teacher	**=this worksheet doesn't have a single stress**
37	άρα εγώ . δεν έχω να πάρω τίποτα .. ..
37	**therefore I'm not taking it**
38 ( )	*pp* Γιά::ννη::
38 ( )	**Gianni**
39Γιάννης	*ff* μη γκοροϊδεύει .. *p* κανείς σας (…)
39Giannis	**no-one makes fun ((of me)) (…)**
40Δασκάλα	ΓΙΑΝ[ΝΗ
40Teacher	**Gia[nni**
41( )	[Γιά::ννη::
41( )	**[Gianni**
42Χουσείν	*f acc* τί είσαι συ; .. πρόεδρος είσαι; ..
42Husein	**who are you? are you the president?**
43Δασκάλα	λοιπόν ..
43Teacher	**so**

[161] Literally, 'μανούλα μου' means 'my mummy'. Here it is used as an expression of surprise and it is translated as 'oh my gosh'.

Transcript 3 (context 4, 18/3/99)

((Αντί να βγουν έξω στο διάλειμμα, τα παιδιά αποφάσισαν να μείνουν στην τάξη και να κάνουν την εργασία που τους έχει βάλει η δασκάλα των Αγγλικών))
((Instead of playing in the schoolyard during free time, peer group members chose to stay in the 4th grade classroom and do a series of painting and writing tasks. The English language teacher had assigned these tasks for homework))

((Ο Χουσείν λέει στους συμμαθητές του ότι θα έρθει η δασκάλα να τους τιμωρήσει επειδή κάνουν πολύ φασαρία. Τα παιδιά όμως καταλαβαίνουν ότι ο Χουσείν προσπαθεί να τους κοροιδέψει. Τότε ο Τουτζάι αρχίζει να μου εξιστορεί άλλες φορές που ο Χουσείν προσπάθησε να τους κοροιδέψει))
((Husein has tried to trick his peers into believing that the form teacher is about to come and discipline them because they were making too much noise. His lie is discovered and Tuncay starts telling me about other attempts Husein had made to con his peers))

1Τουτζάι	*acc* ((σε μένα)) όλο ψέματα λέει .. ... ((ο Χουσείν)) και ο Φά- .
1Tuncay	**((to me)) he ((Husein)) lies all the time and to Fa and to Fanis**
2	και στο Φάνη . που ήρθε χτες .. *f* λέει ότι . η κυρία πήγε σ' άλλο σχολείο .
2	**who came ((back to school)) yesterday he said our teacher had**
3	(hh)όλο (hh)ψεύ(hh)της είναι αυτός ..
3	**gone to another school he's such a liar he is**
4Γιάννης	ο Χουσεί::ν=
4Giannis	**Husein=**
5Χουσείν	=*acc* Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι ..
5Husein	**=Bronze Moon** [162]
6Τουτζάι	α- *acc* Κασσέττες . Κασσέτες πουλάει αυτός .
6Tuncay	**a- Cassettes** [163] **he sells Cassettes**
7Γιάννης	ο Χουσεί::ν=
7Giannis	**Husein=**
8Χουσείν	= *acc* έχει Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι σήμερα ..
8Husein	**= there is a Bronze Moon tonight**
9Βάλλη	έχει μπρούτζινο φεγγάρι; .
9Vally	**there is a bronze moon?**
10Κώστας	ναι .. [((τραγουδά)) Μπρούτζινο Φεγγά::ρι
10Costas	**yes [((he sings)) Bronze Moon**
11Χουσείν	[κυρία:: .. *acc* Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι είσαι εσύ
11Husein	**[Ms you are the Bronze Moon**
12Βάλλη	μπρού[τζι-
12Vally	**bron[z-**
13Τουτζάι	[*f* κυρία:: . ξέρεις τον Αττίλα; .. τραγουδιστής [είναι
13Tuncay	**[Ms do you know Attila? he's a [singer**
14Βάλλη	[*acc* όχι δεν τον
14Vally	**[no I don't know**
15	ξέρω .. δεν τον ξερω=
15	**him I don't know him=**
16Φάνης	= *acc* κυρία . εγώ του είπα ... ωραία τραγουδάει=
16Fanis	**= Ms I told you about him he sings well=**
17Χουσείν	=*f* Μπρούτζινο Φεγγά::ρι ..
18Husein	**=Bronze Moon**

[162] Because 'Bronze Moon' refers to Tuncay's nickname (4.5.1), it has been capitalised throughout Transcirpt 3.
[163] Because 'Kassettes' refers to Husein's nickname (4.5.1), it has also been capitalised.

18Βάλλη *p* τί τραγουδάει; ([…)
18Vally **what does he sing? ([…)**
19Χουσείν [*ff* α::::: .. θέλω Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι=
19Husein [ah I want Bronze Moon=
20Βάλλη **=τίναι [το- . μπρούτζινο φεγγάρι; .. ..**
20Vally =what does bronze moon mean?
21Γιάννης *ff* [α::: αγόρασέ το . το Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι σου .. .. ά:::μα πια::: ..
21Giannis uh buy your your Bronze Moon you really got
22( ) [(…)
23Γιάννης μας έ:::πριξε::ς=
23Giannis on our nerves=
24Μπάμπης =για να μη του δώσει και καμιά τιμωρία ((του Χουσείν)) η κυρία ..
24Babis **=so that the teacher doesn't punish him ((Husein))**
25Γιάννης *f* γιατί νομίζεις δεν έχει φάει ..
25Giannis **why you think he hasn't been ((punished for lying))**
26 χαχαχα . καλό::: έ:::::;=
26 **hahaha that's a good one right [164]?**
27Βάσια =πολύ κα:λό .. ε::: φο-βε-ρό::: (…) ..
27Vasia **very good a amazing (…)**
28 ((τραγουδά)) *dec* Μπρούτζινο Φεγγά::ρι:: .. Μπρούτζινο Φεγγά::ρι:: ..
28 **((she sings)) Bronze Moon Bronze Moon**
29 έτσι κάνει .. *p* Μπρούτζινο Φεγγά::ρι:: .. *ff* Μπρούτζινο Φεγγά::ρι [3sec]
29 **that's how ((he)) sings ((it)) Bronze Moon Bronze Moon**
((φωνές))
((background noise))
30Τουτζάι *f* ποιός είπ' αυτό;
30Tuncay **who said that?**
31Βάσια εγκώ; . ποιό; . τί; .. . το Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι;
31Vasia **me? what? what ((did I say))? Bronze Moon?**
32Τουτζάι ναι .
32Tuncay **yes**
((ο Τουτζάι της τραβάει τα μαλλιά))
((Tuncay pulls her hair))
33Βάσια *f* α::::: .. *ff* κυρία:: πονάω::=
33Vasia **ah Ms it hurts=**
34Χουσείν *acc* Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι ..
34Husein **Bronze Moon**
35Βάσια *acc* Μπρούτζινο Φεγγάρι (…) Φεγγάρι Μπρούτζινο ..
35Vasia **Bronze Moon (…) Bronze Moon**
36Τουζτάι *acc* κυρία:: αυτή είπε (…)
36Tuncay **Ms she said (…)**
...
56Τουτζάι *f* αυτό ((ο μαρκαδόρος)) είναι χαλασμένο .. α- . *acc* ποιανού 'ν' αυτό; [2sec]
56Tuncay **this ((marker)) is broken oh whose is this?**
((φωνές))
((background noise))
57Μαρία *p* ((τραγουδά)) ' Μπρούτζινο Φεγγά::ρι=
57Maria ((she sings)) Bronze moon=
58Γιάννης =κα-ράβι το φεγγά::ρι=
58Giannis =the moon like a boat=
59Μαρία =((τραγουδά)) ' κα::ρά::βι το φεγγά::ρι ..
59Maria **=((she sings)) the moon like a boat**
60Μελτέμ ((τραγουδά)) κα[ρά:::βι το φε[γγά::ρι .

[164] See 4.5.2 regarding the use of one-liners from Greek TV sources.

60Meltem	**((she sings) the [moon is like a [boat**
61Μαρία	((τραγουδά)) [‘ κα::ρα- [γγά::ρι .
61Maria	**((she sings)) [moon [boat**
62Γιάννης	*acc* έλα Τουντζάι .. (…) .
62Giannis	**come on Tuncay (...)**
63Μαρία	*ff* ((στριγγλιές))=
63Maria	**((shrieks))=**
64Μελτέμ	=‘ *ff* α::::: .
64Meltem	**=aouch**
65Γιάννης	(hhh)αυτή ήτανε .. αυτός ήτανε ρε ..
65Giannis	**it was she it was he (re)**
66Μαρία	*ff* λοιπό:::ν .. άου:: .. ..
66Maria	**right aouch**

Transcript 4 (context 4, 18/3/99)

((Αντί να βγουν έξω στο διάλειμμα, τα παιδιά αποφάσισαν να μείνουν στην τάξη και να κάνουν την εργασία που τους έχει βάλει η δασκάλα των Αγγλικών))
((Instead of playing in the schoolyard during free time, peer group members chose to stay in the 4th grade classroom and do a series of painting and writing tasks, which the English language teacher had assigned for homework))

1Τουτζάι	τις προτάσεις ((στα Αγγλικά)) δεν έκανες;
1Tuncay	**you haven’t done the sentences ((in English))?**
2( )	ω- . ω- . ω-
2( )	**o o o**
3Βάσια	*f* ((τραγουδά στο μικρόφωνο)) η καρδιά:: μου χτυπά::=
3Vasia	**((sings in the mic)) my heart is throbbing=**
4Τουτζάι	= *acc* άντε φύγε . Βασιλόπιττα 999 [2 sec]
4Tuncay	**=go away Vasipolita 999** [165]
5Γιάννης	για να δούμε ρε Νώντα ((τί έχεις κάνει))
5Giannis	**let’s have a look (re) Nonta**
6Μελτέμ	αυτό ((ο μαρκαδόρος)) είναι καλό .. πάρε .. .. κι εγώ μ’ αυτό έκανα .. κοίτα ..
6Meltem	**this ((marker)) is a good one take it I used the same one look**
7Βάλλη	*p* (…) με μπλάκνο
7Vally	**(…) with typ-ex**
8Νώντας	*acc* δε γίνεται . τώρα που τόχει κάνει έτσι=
8Nontas	**it can’t be done now ((this way)) he’s done it that way=**
9Μελτέμ	=ωραία είναι έτσι .. .
9Meltem	**=it looks nice this way**
10Νώντας	το ξαναγράφω .
10Nontas	**I’m re-writing it**
11Βάσια	((τραγουδά)) *f* ατσουμεκέ::τι μεκέ::τι ..
11Vasia	**((she sings)) atsoumeketi meketi** [166]
12Γιάννης	((τραγουδά)) *ff acc* τα::ράρα- τα::ραράν .
12Giannis	**((he sings)) tarara tararan**
13Μελτέμ	*f acc çinkil beli şok başkari::şi* .
13Meltem	**tsinkil beli shock bashkarishi tsiligil**

[165] This is one of Vasia’s nicknames (4.5.1).
[166] In lines 11-18, peer group members sing songs that are made up of what appear to be nonsense words. The song they sing, however, has traces of the English Christmas carol ‘Jinggle Bells’, which pupils had learned in the foreign language centres they attended to study English.

14	*çiligil* . ((τραγουδά και η Βάσια)) *ff acc beli şok başkari::şi* .
14	**tsiligil ((Vasia joins her)) beli shock bashkarishi**
15	*çiligit beli şok başkari::şi* . ((τραγουδά μόνο η Μελτέμ)) *ff acc çiligil*(hhh)=
15	**tsiligit beli shock bashkarishi ((only Meltem sings)) tsiligil=**
16Βάσια	=*f* τσουκουλμπέ::=
16Vasia	**=tsukulbe=**
17Γιάννης	=νά[το::
17Giannis	**=here [it is**
18Τουτζάι	[τσουγκουλγκέ:: [τσουγκουλγκέ::
18Tuncay	**[tsugulge [tsugulge**
19Γιάννης	[αλήθεια . *acc* καλά πας Μαρία; ..
19Giannis	**[really are you with it Maria?**
20Μαρία	*f* ναι::; ..
20Maria	**yes?**
21Γιάννης	μόνο που χρειάζεται πράσινο εδώ ((στη σημαία που ζωγραφίζει))=
21Giannis	**only it needs green here ((for the flag she is painting))=**
22Μαρία	=ε::: . πράσινο έχω βάλει .
22Maria	**=huh I've used green**

Transcript 5 (context 4, 15/3/99)

((Ο Μπάμπης είναι τιμωρημένος από τη δασκάλα γιατί δεν έκανε τις εργασίες του για το σπίτι και έχει μείνει μέσα στο διάλειμμα για να τις κάνει. Η Μπαχριέ έχει μείνει μέσα για να τελειώσει τις εργασίες της που δεν πρόλαβε στο σπίτι. Η Βάσια (που έχει κάνει τις εργασίες της) βοηθά τους δυο συμμαθητές της με τις δικιές τους))
((Babis has been grounded by the form teacher during the break for not having done his homework. He was thus forced to stay in to do it. Bahrye has chosen to stay in to complete the same homework, while Vasia (who has done her homework) is helping her two classmates with theirs))

((Η Βάσια, που μέχρι τότε ζωγράφιζε στον πίνακα, πηγαίνει και στέκεται πάνω από τον Μπάμπη για να δει εάν τελείωσε τις εργασίες του))
((Vasia who has been doodling on the blackboard moves over to Babis to check on how he's progressing with his homework))

1Βάσια	α::::χ .. τελείωσες ρε;
1Vasia	**oh have you finished (re)?**
2Μπάμπης	τελειώνω .. .. το πήρα ..
2Babis	**I'm finishing I took it**
	((διαβάζει αυτά που έχει γράψει))
	((he is reading aloud what he has written))
3	εγώ- θα- κουνιέ:μαι . εσύ- θα- κουνιέ:σαι=
3	**I will be swinging you will be swinging=**
4Βάσια	=*ff* να δω τι έχεις γράψει βρε .. . ((διαβάζει)) εγώ: θα- κρατιέ:μαι .
4Vasia	**=let me see (vre)** [167] **what you've written ((she reads)) I will be holding**
5	εσύ θα- κρατιέ:σαι . αυτός θα κρατιέ:ται .. *acc* με κανένα τόνο .. ..
5	**you will be holding he will be holding with no stress**
6	*f* εμείς . ΕΜΕΙ::::Σ; .. *acc* αχ- θα τον σκοτώσω αχ-=
6	**we we** [168]**? ah- I'm going to kill him ah-=**

[167] 'Vre' is a variant of 're' and it's an untranslatable particle. When used among friends, 'vre' denotes familiarity and informality (Tannen & Kakava 1992).
[168] Babis has misspelled the 1st person plural personal pronoun 'εμείς' ('emeis'). Instead of [emeis], has written [emis].

7Μπάμπης	=*p acc* ((διαβάζει ό,τι έχει γράψει)) εγώ εσύ εμείς ..
7Babis	**=((he reads what he has written)) I you we**
8Βάσια	αχ- αχ- *f* Μπαριέ θα το σκοτώσω .. αχ- αχ- .. ..
8Vasia	**uh uh Barhye I'm going to kill him uh uh**
9	*acc* έλα να δεις πως έχει γραψει το 'εμείς' .. .
9	**come and see how he spelled 'we'**
10Μπαχριέ	*ff* E::ΜΕΙ::Σ;
10Bahrye	**we?**
11Βάσια	εσείς; . *p* έλα .
11Vasia	**you? come**
12Μπαχριέ	*f* το 'εσείς'; .
12Bahrye	**((how has he spelled)) 'you'?**
13Βάσια	πάλι ((το ίδιο λάθος))
13Vasia	**again ((the same mistake))**
14Μπαχριέ	*ff* ε:::::; .. δεν είναι με::: . έτσι ((το γράφει στον πίνακα))
14Bahrye	**uh? isn't it spelled like this ((she writes on the blackboard))**
15Μπάμπης	έ::ψιλον γιώ:τα:: .. .
15Babis	**epsilon giota** [169]
16Βάσια	'α- α- α- .. [τι;::
16Vasia	**a a a [what ((is this))?**
17Μπαχριέ	((γράφει στον πίνακα)) [ε::μείς .. .. ε::σείς .. .. αυ:τοί .. ..
17Bahrye	**((she writes on the blackboard)) [we you they**
18	[αχ- ρε- .. . [τίποτα δε ξέρεις ρε Μπαμπινίνο ..
18	**[uh (re) [you don't know anything (re) Babinino**
20Βάσια	[*acc* και κανένα [τόνο βέβαια
20Vasia	**[and no [stress of course**
21Μπάμπης	Μπαμπινίνο; . *acc* δε με λένε Μπαμπινίνο ..
21Babis	**Babinino? I'm not called Babinino** [170]
22Μπαχριέ	δε με νοιάζει .. Μπαμπιλίνο σε λένε . Μπεϊμπιλίνο hhhh =
22Bahrye	**I don't care you're called Babilino Babylino hhhh=**
23Βάσια	=((προς Μπάμπη)) *ff* γράφε ((τις ασκήσεις))=
23Vasia	**=((to Babis)) do ((your homework))=**
24Μπάμπης	=((προς Βάσια)) μπορείς να το κουνήσεις αυτό το δάχτυλο .
24Babis	**=((to Vasia)) can you move this finger**
25	που το έχεις έξω; ..
25	**you have uncovered** [171]
26Βάσια	ναι . αυτό ..
26Vasia	**yes this ((one I can))**

[169] 'Epsilon giota' is spelled [ei], as in 'emeis' ('we'), 'eseis' ('you'), 1st and 2nd person plural respectively.
[170] Indeed, Babis' nicknames were 'Babilino' and 'Babylino' (4.5.1).
[171] Vasia had had an accident and, at the time, her right arm was in a plaster.

Transcript 6 (context 6, 17/3/99)

((Η Μπαχριέ κρατά ένα μικρό κασσετόφωνο που έχει ενσωματομένο ένα μικρόφωνο. Της το έχω δώσει για να μαγνητοφωνήσει τα παιδιά στο διάλειμμα))
((Bahrye is holding a small tape-recorder with an in-built microphone. I have given her the tape-recorder to record interactions during free time in the schoolyard))

((Η Μπαχριέ κρατά το κασσετόφωνο μπροστά στον Τουτζάι και τον παροτρίνει να μιλήσει))
((Bahrye is holding the tape-recorder in front of Tuncay, urging him to talk))

1Μπαχριέ	*ff* Tuncay . *acc* karış karış [172] ..
1	έλα Τουτζάι πες κάτι
1Bahrye	**come on Tuncay say something**
2Τουτζάι	*f* Κουρδιστάν=
2Tuncay	**Kurdistan=**
3Μπαχριέ	=hhhhhhh
3Bahrye	**=hhhhhhh**
	((Ο Τουτζάι πλησιάζει περισσότερο την Μπαχριέ))
	((Tuncay moves closer to Bahrye who is holding the mic))
4Τουτζάι	((στη Μπαχριέ)) *acc* έλα έλα *ff* [Μπαμπάκι: hhhh
4Tuncay	**((to Bahrye)) come on come on [Babaki [173] (i.e. cotton) hhhh**
5Μπαχριέ	[hhhhhhh
5Bahyre	**[hhhhhhh**
6Νώντας	*acc* (h)Τού(hh)τζα Μού(hh)τζα .
6Nontas	**Tudza Mudza [174]**
7Μπαχριέ	Tunca . a- . sen (...) bırakmayın ben bırakmacayım=
7Bahrye	**Tudza a- you (...) don't let me neither shall I=**
8Τουτζάι	=Βαμ [βάκι .
8Tuncay	**=Vam[vaki**
9Νώντας	*acc* [Τούτζα Μούτζα=
9Nontas	**[Tudza Mudza=**
10Μπαχριέ	=hhhhhh .
10Bahrye	**=hhhhhh**
11Τουτζάι	Βαμ[(hh)βά(h)κι
11Tuncay	**Vam[vaki**
12( )	(...)
13Μπαχριέ	[hhhh .
13Bahrye	**[hhhh**
14Τουτζάι	Μπαμπάκι:: .
14Tuncay	**Babaki**
15Μπαχριέ	hhhh
15Bahrye	**hhhh**
	((Ο Νώντας απομακρύνεται από την Μπαχριέ και τον Τουτζάι))
	((Nontas moves away from Bahrye and Tuncay))
16Νώντας	*pp* Τούτζα Μούτζα .
16Nontas	**Tudza Mudza**
17Τουτζάι	*pp* ((στο μικρόφωνο)) ο Νώντας είναι πολύ καλό παιδί

[172] The literal meaning of the verb 'karışmak' is 'to mix'. In this context, it is used in the imperative form (second person) to elicit some contribution from Tuncay. That is why it has been translated into English as 'come on say something'.
[173] 'Babaki' and its variant 'Vamvaki' are Nontas' nicknames and they mean 'cotton' (4.5.1). Because both nicknames are used in Transcript 6, a phonetic transcription has been provided rather than an English translation in order to indicate the alternation between the two nicknames.
[174] This is one of Tuncay's nicknames (4.5.1).

17Tuncay	**((directly in the mic) Nontas is a really nice kid**
18Μπαχριέ	*f* αα- . ξέρεις τί είπε; .. *ff* ο Νώντας είναι πολύ καλό παιδί ..
18Bahrye	**aa- do you know what he said? ((he said)) Nontas is a really nice kid**
19Τουτζάι	((στον Νώντα)) *f* ξέρεις τί είπα;
19Tuncay	**((to Nontas)) do you know what I said?**
	((Ο Τουτζάι απομακρύνεται από τη Μπαχριέ))
	((Tuncay moves away from Bahrye))

Transcript 7 (context 4, 18/3/99)

((Αντί να βγουν έξω στο διάλειμμα, τα παιδιά αποφάσισαν να μείνουν στην τάξη και να κάνουν την εργασία που τους έχει βάλει η δασκάλα των Αγγλικών))
((Instead of playing in the schoolyard during free time, peer group members chose to stay in the 4th grade classroom and do a series of painting and writing tasks, which the English language teacher had assigned for homework))

	((ακούγονται πολλές φωνές))
	((a lot of background noise can be heard))
1Νώντας	*f acc* στη κυρία στη κυρία που κάνετε τόση φασαρία
1Nontas	**I'll tell the teacher you are making so much noise**
2Μαρία	*ff acc* τί θες ρε Νώντα εσύ τώρα::;=
2Maria	**what do you want now (re) Nontas?=**
3Βάσια	=τί θες ρε Νώντα::; .. (hh)θέ(hh)λεις τί(hh)ποτα; hhh=
3Vasia	**=what do you want now (re) Nontas? you want something?=**
4Τουτζάι	=*acc* σκάσε ρε Βά[σια
4Tuncay	**=shut up (re) Va[sia**
5Νώντας	[*f* δεν έχει κάνει τις εργασίες του . που τούχει βάλει η
5Nontas	**[he ((Babis)) hasn't done the homework the teacher**
6	κυρία .. εντά:ξει;=
6	**told him to do ok?=**
7Μελτέμ	=και σένα να μη σε ενδιαφέρει .. . *p* τρελο::=
7Meltem	**=and that's none of your business you nutty=**
8Μαρία	=αυτός θάρει αδιάβαστος . δε θάρθεις εσύ .
8Maria	**=it is he who hasn't done his homework not you**
9Τουτζάι	*p* ά:ντε ρε Cumbul=
9Tuncay	**come off with it (re) Cumbul=**
10Μελτέμ	= *f* άσε μας ρε Τούντζα Μούντζα:: Μούντζα Μούντζα:=
10Meltem	**= leave us alone (re) Tunzda Mundza Mundza Munzda=**
11Τουτζάι	=*be:n mi suledim*? .
11Tuncay	**=did I say that? .**
12Βάσια	μπέ::μ σουλέ .. μπεμί σουλέ; [4sec]
12Vasia	**bem sule bemi sule?**
	((ακούγονται πολλές φωνές))
	((a lot of background noise can be heard))
13Τουτζάι	κοίτα .. πολύ ωραίο σημαία έκανα ..
13Tuncay	**look I painted a very nice flag**
	((ακούγονται φωνές))
	((background noise))

Transcript 8 (context 5, 18/3/99)

((Εχει χτυπήσει το κουδούνι για διάλειμμα και μερικά παιδιά είναι ακόμα στην τάξη. Ο Χουσείν εξετάζει το μικρό κασσετόφωνο που χρησιμοποιώ για μαγνητοφωνήσεις))
((The bell has rung for the break and some peer group members are still lingering in the classroom. Husein is examining the small tape-recorder I have been using))

1Γιάννης	σήμερα θα πάει βόλτα .. ((πλησιάζει τον Χουσείν)) α:: ..
1Giannis	**((s/he)) will go for walk today ((he approaches Husein)) ah**
2	((το μαγνητόφωνο)) παίζει ..
2	**it's recording**
	((Ο Γιάννης και ο Χουσείν εξετάζουν το μαγνητόφωνο. Βρίσκουν ένα κουμπί που γράφει 'rec'))
	((Giannis and Husein examine the tape-recorder. They find a button that reads 'rec' for record))
3Χουσείν	*f* ρεκόρντ .. γράφει; .. .. [ρεκ .. τραβάει;
3Husein	**record is it recording? [rec is it recording?**
4Γιάννης	[ρεκ
4	**[rec**
5Χουσείν	((στο μικρόφωνο)) *f* Γιάτσι . Γιαννά . Κόλλια ..
5Husein	**((in the microphone)) Giachi Gianna Kollia**
6Γιάννης	Χουσείν: .
6Giannis	**Husein**
7Χουσείν	((βάζει τα ακουστικά)) α:: .
7Husein	**((he puts on the earphones)) ah**
8Γιάννης	Χουσ-=
8Giannis	**Hus=**
9Χουσείν	=σ::: .. σ:::
9Husein	**=shsh shsh**
10Γιάννης	η μητέρα μου τόχει πει στην κυρία Χουσείν . ότ- [*acc* ότι βρίζεις
10Giannis	**my mother has told the teacher Husein tha- [that you insult**
11Χουσείν	[σ:: *acc* περίμενε σ:
11Husein	**[shsh hold on shsh**
12Γιάννης	το επώνυμό μου=
12Giannis	**my surname=**
13Χουσείν	=((για τους θορύβους που κάνει το μαγνητόφωνο)) ωραίο .
13Husein	**=((comments on the noises the tape-recorder is making)) cool**
14Γιάννης	*acc* περίμενε να σου πω .. η κυρί- *acc.* η μαμά μου τόχει πει
14Giannis	**let me tell you something the tea- my mother has told**
15	στην κυρία ότι μου βρίζεις το επώνυμο .. και η κυρία είχε πει .
15	**the teacher that you insult my name and the teacher had said**
16	θα τον συγυρίσω εγώ=
16	**I'll take care of him=**
17 Χουσείν	=πολύ ωραίο . ((δίνει το ένα ακουστικό στο Γιάννη
17Husein	**=((this is)) very good ((Husein gives one of the earphones to Giannis and**
18	και κρατάει το άλλο)) πάρτο . α-
18	**holds on to the other one)) take it oh-**
19	δε γίνεται αυτό; .. . αυτό δε γίνεται ((τα ακουστικά δεν μπορούν να
19	**can't we do this? we can't do this ((the earphones can not be**
20	χωριστούν))
20	**separated))**
21Γιάννης	*f* άκουσες; .. άκου να δεις . [που τσιρίζεις .
21Giannis	**did you hear ((what I said))? listen to me [instead of screaming**
22Χουσείν	[τίναι αυτό; ωραίο είναι .
22Husein	**[what's this? it's cool**

23	*acc* κοίτα να δεις .. έτσι κάνει ((το μαγνητόγωνο)) ..
23	**look that's the noise it's making ((the tape-recorder))**
	((ο Χουσείν μιμείται το θόρυβο που κάνει το μανγητόφωνο καθώς γράφει))
	((Husein is imitating the noise the tape-recorder is making, while it is recording))
24	*f* αμπλα(hh)μπλαμπλα(hhh)μπλαπμλα(hh).. (hhh)μπλαμπλαμπλα(hh) . ωραίο
24	**abla(hh)blabla(hh)blabla(hh) (hhh)blablabla(hh) cool**
25Γιάννης	άντε (...) ρε Χουσείν .
25Giannis	**yeah right (...) (re) Husein**

APPENDIX V. TRANSCRIPTS (INTERACTIONS IN INSTITUTIONALLY ORIENTED CONTEXTS)

The transcription notations are in Appendix II/A-B

Transcript 1 (context 1, 30/3/99; with the teacher for the class history project) [175]

	Centre	Periphery
	((η δασκάλα γράφει στον πίνακα))	
	((the teacher is writing on the blackboard))	
1Τουτζάι	((επαναλαμβάνει ό,τι αντιγράφει))	
1Tuncay	**((he repeats what he is copying))**	
2	*f* α- ο ά::ρχοντας .. .. *acc* γόμα	
2	**ah the ruler the eraser Gianni**	
2	Γιάννη .. .. *f* γόμα	
2	**the eraser**	
3 Χουσείν		((στο μικρόφωνο))
3Husein		**((in the microphone))**
4		*p* Κό:λλια .. Κό:λλια ..
4		**Kollia Kollia**
4		Κό:λλια(hh) .
5		**Kollia**
6Τουτζάι	((επαναλαμβάνει)) *f* ο άρχοντας ..	
6Tuncay	**((he repeats)) the ruler**	
7	((στον Χουσείν)) *acc* φύγε ρε=	
7	**((to Husein)) go away (re)=**	
8 Χουσείν		=*p* Κόλλια:: .
8Husein		**=Kollia**
9Τουτζάι	αυτός είπε . Κόλλια .	
9Tuncay	**he said Kollia**	
10Μπάμπης		*pp* Κόλλια φοράω .
10Babis		**Kollia I'm wearing**
11		Κόλλια .
11		**Kollia/kolya**
12Χουσείν	*acc* α:: αυτός είπε .	
12Husein	**a he said**	
13	ο αριθμός .	
13	**the number**	
14		*pp* (…)
14		**(…)**
		και εγώ έγραψα (…)=
		and I wrote (…)=
15Τουτζάι		ατιατό::: .. [Κό::λλια
15Tuncay		**atiato [Kollia=**
16Χουσείν		[*p acc çiçi*
16Husein		[tsitsi
17		*bana . çiçi bana*(hh)
17		**bana tsitsi bana** [176]

((ξαφνικά γίνεται πολύ φασαρία καθώς οι μαθητές

[175] I use a parallel column format to capture more adequately the way backstage playful talk is produced during whole-group instruction (cf. Ribeiro 1993).

[176] This is a hybrid form of the two most commonly used one-liners from Turkish: 'çiçi meme' ('cute boobs') and 'gel bana' ('come to me') (cf. 4.5.2).

αντιγράφουν από τον πίκακα και μιλούν μεταξύ τους))
((suddenly there is a lot of commotion in the classroom,
as the pupils continue copying what the teacher has been
writing on the blackboard and start talking among themselves))

Transcript 2 (context 1, with the teacher for the class history project, 30/3/99)

Centre		Periphery	
1Δασκάλα	αν δεν είχε πολλά χωράφια		
1Teacher	**if he didn't have enough food**		
2	για να τα θρέψει .. μπορούσε		
2	**for his children**		
3	τα παιδιά του να τα πουλήσει ..		
3	**he could sell them**		
4Βάσια	κατάλαβα ..		
4Vasia	**right**		
5	([...)	5Μπάμπης	[*p* είμαι Αμπντουλάχ::(hh)
5	([**...**)	**5Babis**	**[I'm Abdullah** [177]
6	(...)	6Τουτζάι	((στο Γιάννη)) *p* hξέ(hh)ρεις
6	(**...**)	**6Tuncay**	**((to Giannis)) do you know**
		7	τί είπε; . Αμπντουλάχ(hh) .
		7	**what he said? Abdullah**
8Δασκάλα	*f dec* γράφω .		
8Teacher	**I'm writing**		
9	ότι έ[χουμε πει	9Γιάννης	[*acc p* άμπε άμπε
9	**what [we said**	**9Giannis**	**[long live**
((η δασκάλα γράφει στον πίνακα))		10	Κουρδιστάν=
((the teacher is writing on the blackboard))		**10**	**Kurdistan=**
11Μπάμπης	=*acc p* άμπε .		
11Babis	**=long live**		
12Δασκάλα	((διαβάζει ό,τι έχει γράψει))	((οι μαθητές αντιγράφουν))	
12Teacher	**((reads what she has written))**	**((the pupils are copying))**	
13	*f* πατέρας .. .		
13	**father**		
14Γιάννης	*acc p* κάτσε ρε .		
14Giannis	**sit down (re)**		
15Δασκάλα	*f* ο πατέρας . πουλάει .		
15Teacher	**the father sells**		
16	τα . παιδιά του .		
16	**his children**		

[177] Here Babis is referring to Abdullah Öcalan (4.5.5).

Transcript 3 (context 1, 18/3/99, with the English language teacher)

((Η δασκάλα έχει σταματήσει το μάθημα για να βοηθήσει μια ομάδα μαθητών που γράφει το διαγώνισμα της περασμένης εβδομάδας))
((The English language teacher has put the lesson on hold to help a group of pupils who are taking an exam they had missed the previous week))

	((ακούγεται φασαρία))
	((background noise))
1Μελτέμ	((τραγουδάει)) γει-ά σας . με λένε Πό-πη . σα τη για-γιά μου την
1Meltem	**((she raps)) hi there my name is Popi just like my granny**
2	Καλλιό-πη . αχ να με λέ-γανε Κυβέ:λη- ..
2	**Kalliopi oh how I wish my name were Kiveli**
3	*f* 'μου πήρε ((ο Νώντας)) (…) .
3	**he ((Nontas)) took my (…)**
4Νώντας	*f* ρε- . έ:λα .. *acc* να πάρεις το δικό σου=
4Nontas	**(re) come on take your own ((thing))=**
5Μελτέμ	=θα σε σκοτώ:σω ..
5Meltem	**=I'm gonna kill you**
6Βάσια	*f* θέλω να ξέρω γιατί : . γιατί:
6Vasia	**I wanna know why why**
7Γιάννης	*p* (…)
7Giannis	**(…)**
8Μελτέμ	*acc* άσε μας .. είναι πολύ μεγάλο . αν θέλεις να μάθεις ..
8Meltem	**leave us alone for your information it's very big**
9Βάσια	*f* θέλω να ξέρω γιατί:: ..θέλω να ξέρω γιατί=
9Vasia	**I wanna know why I wanna know why**
10Νώντας	=*acc* έλα ρε . φέρτο . ΦΕΡΤΟ Μελτέ::μ .
10Nontas	**=come on (re) give it back give it back ((to me)) Meltem**
11Μπάμπης	*f* Μελτέμ Οβαλή=
11Babis	**Meltem Ovali =**
12Νώντας	=*p* Τζουμπούλ=
12Nontas	**=Cumbul [178]=**
13Μελτέμ	=*f* στο (h)τέλος της (hh)6ης .. ..
13Meltem	**=((you'll get it back)) at the (h)end of (hh)6th grade**
	((ακούγεται φασαρία))
	((background noise))

Transcript 4 (context 1, 30/3/99; with teacher for the history project)

Centre Periphery

((Οι μαθητές αντιγράφουν από τον πίνακα
ό,τι έχει γράψει η δασκάλα. Η δασκάλα κοιτάζει
τις σημειώσεις της))
((The pupils are copying from the blackboard
what the teacher has written. The teacher is
looking through her notes))

1Γιάννης	((στη δακσάλα)) αρπαγή::; ..
1Giannis	**((to the teacher)) capture?**
2	τίναι αυτό; .

[178] This is one of Meltem's nicknames, see 4.5.1.

2	**what does that mean?**		
3Δασκάλα	αρπαγή; .. <u>αρπάζω</u> .		
3Teacher	**capture? to capture**		
4	δεν είπαμε .		
4	**didn't we say**		
5	ότι <u>αρπάζανε</u> ανθρώπους;		
5	**that they would capture people?**		
6Χουσείν	*acc* κυρία να το γράψουμε; ..		
6Husein	**should we write it down?**		
7Δασκάλα	και <u>αρπαγή</u> γράψτε ..		
7Teacher	**and write 'capture'**		
		8Χουσείν	*p* gei bana
		8Husein	**come to me**
9Βάσια	((γράφει)) α[ρ::παγή	9Τουτζάι	[(hh)ανιά::: μα:::
9Vasia	**((she writes)) ca[pture**	**9Tuncay**	**[mummy ma**
		10Μπάμπης	*p* Αμπντουλά:χ(hh)
		10Babis	**Abdullah**
11Τουτζάι	*f* α::: *acc* <u>κυρία</u> .. πέστου αυτουνού ..		
11Tuncay	**ah Miss tell him**		
12	όλο- . <u>Αμπντουλάχ</u> λέει ..		
12	**he is saying Abdullah all the time**		
		13	α- *p* Κουρδιστάν hh
		13	**ah Kurdistan**
14Γιάννης	το παιδί ((ο Μπάμπης)) δεν είναι καλά=		
14Giannis	**the boy ((Babis)) is not well=**		
15Δασκάλα	=*ff* τί:: γίνεται Τουτζάι . εκεί ακριβώς;		
15Teacher	**=exactly what's going on there Tuncay?**		
16Τουτζάι	*p* hhhh		
16Tuncay	**hhhh**		

Transcript 5 (context 1, 30/3/99, with the teacher for the history project)

Centre	Periphery	
((Οι μαθητές αντιγράφουν στα τετράδιά τους αυτά που γράφει η δασκάλα στον πίνακα)) ((The pupils are copying what the teacher is writing on the blackboard))	1Χουσείν	*p anja:* <u>μι</u>νί::=
	1Husein	**anja mini [179]=**
	2Τουτζάι	=α- .
	2Tuncay	**=a**
	3Βάλλη	*p* τίναι αυτό; ..
	3Vally	**what does this mean?**
	4	μαμά μου;
	4	**mummy?**
	5Τουτζάι	*p* κυρία . *acc* κοντά στη
	5Tuncay	**Miss he doesn't behave**
	6	μαμά του δε κάνει έτσι=
	6	**that way with his mum=**
	7Χουσείν	= '<u>μαμά:::</u> .
	7Husein	**=mummy**
	8Μπάμπης	*p* <u>ανέ</u> . δε σημαίνει μαμά;
	8Babis	**doesn't a<u>ne</u> mean mum?**
	9Βάλλη	*<u>ann</u>e* .

[179] 'Anja' sounds like a playful rendition of 'anne/anna' (meaning mother in Standard Modern Turkish)

9Vally	**((it's)) a<u>nn</u>e** [180]
10Χουσείν	*a<u>nj</u>e::* .
10Husein	**a<u>nj</u>e**
11Τουτζάι	*an<u>n</u>a:* .
11	((είναι)) αν<u>νά</u>
11Tuncay	**((it's)) a<u>nn</u>a** [181]
12Χουσείν	ό::χι . [*an<u>n</u>e:*
12	[αν<u>νέ</u>
12Husein	**no its [an<u>n</u>e**
13Τουτζάι	[*acc* και *an<u>n</u>a*=
13	[αν<u>νά</u>=
13Tuncay	**[and a<u>nn</u>a=**
14Χουσείν	=<u>όχι</u> . an<u>n</u>e=
14	= αν<u>νέ</u>
14Husein	**=no an<u>n</u>e=**
15Δασκάλα	=*f* για να θυμόσαστε καλά .
15Teacher	**=so that you remember**
16	δίπλα στη λέξη <u>πειρατία</u> .
16	**((the connection)) I'm writing the word**
17	γράφω . και τη λέξη <u>αρπαγή</u>
17	**capture next to the word piracy**

Transcript 6 (context 1, 26/4/99, with the English language teacher)

((Η δασκάλα εξηγεί την απουσία πληθυντικού αριθμού στα επίθετα στα Αγγλικά))

((The English language teacher is explaining the absence of plural case-marking in adjectives in English))

1Δασκάλα	*f* δεν μπορώ να βάλω σ' ένα επίθετο 'ες' . και να πω .. <u>'talls'</u> .
1Teacher	**I can't add an 's' to an adjective and say 'talls'**
2Χουσείν	((επαναλαμβάνει ό,τι είπε η δασκάλα)) τολς .
2Husein	**((repeats what the teacher said)) tols**
3Ελένη	ή- .. <u>'smalls'</u> .
3Eleni	**or 'smalls'**
4Χουσείν	((επαναλαμβάνει ό,τι είπε η δασκάλα)) τσοϊτσς .
4Husein	**((repeats what the teacher said)) choichs**
5Ελένη	τί είναι; .. .. [είναι . <u>μεγά:λη</u> . <u>κοτσάνα</u>
5Eleni	**what would that be? [it would be a very silly mistake**
6Κώστας	[η Βάσια ..
6Costas	**[Vasia**
7Τουτζάι	hhh η:: (hh)Βάσια .. (hh)είπε-=
7Tuncay	**Vasia made-=**
8Χουσείν	=*f* <u>μεγά::λη κοτσάνα</u> ..
8Husein	**=a very silly mistake**
9( )	*p* hhhh
9( )	**hhhh**
10Δασκάλα	*f* <u>λοιπόν</u> .

[180] In standard Modern Turkish, the double [n] in 'anne' are stressed. In her turn (line 9), the researcher repeats the word 'anne' by stressing the double [n].

[181] In the following lines (11-14), Tuncay and Husein disagree whether the word is 'anne' or 'anna'. In fact, 'anna' is a variant of 'anne'.

10Teacher	**so**
11Τουτζάι	*f* κοτσάνα .
11Tuncay	**a silly mistake**
12Δασκάλα	άρα Τουτζάι .. δεν μπορώ να βάλω 'ες' . σ' ένα επίθετο .
12Teacher	**therefore Tuncay I can't add an 's' to an adjective**

Transcript 7 (context 1, 15/3/99, with the form teacher)

((Μόλις μπήκε η δασκάλα στην τάξη βλέπει μια μισοφαγωμένη τυρόπιττα πάνω σε κάποιο θρανίο. Σύμφωνα με τους κανονισμούς της τάξης, απαγορεύοταν τα παιδιά να τρώνε στην αίθουσα και να αφήνουν τα σκουπίδια τους στα θρανία))
((The teacher has just entered the classroom to find a half-eaten piece of cheese-pie on one of the pupils' desk. According to classroom rules, pupils were first forbidden to eat in the classroom and secondly leave their rubbish lying around))

1Δασκάλα	*f* αυτό ((η τυρόπιττα)) .. τί είναι εδώ πάνω; ..
1Teacher	**what is this ((chese-pie)) doing here?**
2Μελτέμ	της *Bahryecismi* .
2Meltem	**it's Bahryedzizmi's** [182]
3Κώστας	*ff* τζίζμι; .. (hh)της (hh)Μπαχριε[τζίζμι;
3Costas	**dzizmi** [183]**?(hh) it's (hh) Bahrye[dzismi's ?**
4Γιάννης	[*f* της της (h)Μπαχριε(h)τζίζμι; .
4Giannis	**[it belongs to (h)Bahrye(h)dzizmi's?**
5Κώστας	*p* τζίζμι=
5Costas	**dzizmi=**
6Δασκάλα	=*acc f* λοιπόν .. να τελειώνουμε .. τί είχαμε για σήμερα;
6Teacher	**=so let's finish ((with this)) what homework did we have for today?**

Transcript 8 (context 1, 19/3/99, with the English language teacher)

((Οι μαθητές κάνουν σιωπιλά μια άσκηση στο μάθημα των Αγγλικών))
((The pupils are silently engaged in a pre-vocabulary task, during English language instruction))

1Μπαχριέ	((στον Χουσείν)) στα-μά::τα ..
1Bahrye	**((to Husein)) stop it**
2Χουσείν	['σταμά::τα
2Husein	**[stop it**
3Μπαχριέ	[*f* κυρί::α .. γιατί μιλάει ο Χουσείν; .
3Bahrye	**[Miss why is Husein talking?**
4Χουσείν	*p acc* baksana=
4Husein	**mind your own business=**
5Δασκάλα	= Χουσείν . *acc* πάρτο βιβλίο σου κ' έλα δω=
5Teacher	**=Husein take your book and come ((and sit over)) here=**
6Βάσια	= Χουσεί::ν . πάρε το βιβλίο σου κ' έλα εδώ::hh=
6Vasia	**=Husein take your book and come ((and sit over)) here=**
7Κώστας	=*f* τυχερέ: Χουσεί:ν=
7Costas	**=lucky you Husein=**
8Δασκάλα	=*acc* ΕΛΑ ΔΩ=

[182] Bahrye code-switches to Turkish in mid-turn. 'Bahryecismi' appears to be a playful transformation of the term of endearment 'Bahrye' cim' which means 'my Bahrye'.
[183] Costas and Giannis 'hellenise' the suffix 'cismi', by repeating it with a Greek accent (lines 3-5).

8Teacher	**=come ((and sit over)) here=**
	((Ο Χουσείν σηκώνεται και πάει να αλλάξει θέση))
	((Husein gets up to change seats))
9Χουσείν	=*acc* (hh) ποιά; (hh)ποιά; ((θέση))
9Husein	**=which one? which one? ((which seat))**
10Μπάμπης	*p* τυχερέ [Χουσείν
10Babis	**lucky [you Husein**
11Τουτζάι	[ω- ω- *acc* ποιά ποιά; α:::.
11Tuncay	**[oh oh which ((one)) which ((one))? ah**
12Φάνης	Τούτζα . *acc* ποιά ποιά; . ((ο Χουσείν κάνει πως σηκώνεται
12Fanis	**Tuca ((Tuncay)) which one which one? ((Husein pretends to stand up**
13	από τη θέση του)) α- . *f* με κυνηγάει κυρία ..
13	**from his seat)) ah he's after me Miss**
	((Επικρατεί ησυχία καθώς οι μαθητές συνεχίζουν την άσκηση που τους είχα βάλει η δασκάλα))
	((The pupils are silent as they resume the exercise the teacher has assigned))

Transcript 9 (context 1, with the form teacher, 15/3/99)

((Η δασκάλα παρουσίαζει το σύστημα τονισμού πριν την ορθογραφική μεταρύθμηση στις αρχές της δεκαετίας του '80))
((The teacher has been talking about aspirations in Modern Greek that were in use until the spelling reform in the early '80s. These aspirations were called 'πνεύματα' ('pneumata'). The use of the word 'πνεύματα' ('pnevmata') triggers an association with a homophonous Greek word that means spirits and super-natural beings))

1Δασκάλα	και πότε μπαίνανε αυτά εδώ ..
1Teacher	**then these things here were used**
2	που τα λέγανε πνεύματα ..
2	**which they called 'pnevmata' ((aspirations))** [184]
3	δε τα λέγανε τόνους=
3	**they didn't call them 'tonous' ((another type of stress))=**
3Μελτέμ	=*acc* ' μανούλα μου πνεύματα=
4Meltem	**=oh my gosh 'pnevmata' ((spirits))=**
4Δασκάλα	= *acc* δεν είναι αυτό που φαντάζεσαι .. .
4Teacher	**=it's not what you imagine**
5Γιάννης	*f* 'ε:::::::::::::: 'ντε[ντε::::::::
5Giannis	**e:::::::::::::: de[de::::::::**
6Δασκάλα	[*acc* ((στη Μελτέμ)) και σταμάτα τώρα ...
6Teacher	**[((to Meltem)) and stop now**
7Μπαχριέ	*f* κυρί:α: .
7Bahrye	**Miss**
8Δασκάλα	(h)να έχουμε την:-=
8Teacher	**(h)we've got ((Meltem)) here-** [185]**=**

[184] Because the ensuing play frame is based on the word play between the homophonous words 'πνεύματα' (pronounced 'pnevmata' and meaning aspirations but also spirits and super-natural beings'), the words 'pnevmata' have been retained in the English text and a translation has been provided in brackets, when it is clear which of the two meanings is being referred to.
[185] In both lines (6, 8) the teacher is alluding to Meltem's notorious pre-occupation with and strong belief in ghosts and other supernatural beings. Although this pre-occupation was shared by many pupils regardless of cultural/linguistic background (informal discussions revealed that they were many avid

9Μπαχριέ =*f* κυρί:α: .. πνεύμα *p* [(…)
9Bahrye **Miss 'pnevma' [(...)**
10Γιάννης [*f* 'ε::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::: .
10Giannis **[e:::::::::::::::::::::::::::**
11 [ντε- . ντε- . ντε- .
11 **[de de de**
12Βάσια [*f* 'μουα::::::::::::
12Vasia **[moua ::::::::::::**
13Δασκάλα *f* προσέξτε .. . στα Ελληνικά δεν έχουμε πει ότι υπάρχουν κάποιες λέξεις ..
13Teacher **listen have we not said that in Greek there are words**
14Κώστας *f* πνεύματα::=
14Costas **'pnevmata'=**
15Δασκάλα =που σημαίνουνε: . πολλά πράγματα=
15Teacher **=that can have many meanings=**
16Γιάννης *f* 'δρά::κουλες=
16Giannis **draculas=**
17Βάσια =*f acc* και οι αντω[νυμίες
17Vasia **=the pronouns [too ((are words that have many meanings))**
18Γιάννης [*f* 'βαμπίρ::=
18Giannis **[vampires=**
19Δασκάλα =αντω[νυμίες συνήθως σημαίνουν στη γραμματική μόνο .
19Teacher **=pro[nouns are usually used only in grammar**
20Κώστας [*p* (hh)βα(hh)μπίρ
20Costas **[vampires**
21Δασκάλα ενώ πνεύμα είναι στη γραμματική και αυτό που λέει η Μπαριέ .
21Teacher **((the word)) 'pnevma' is used in grammar and what Bahrye is saying**
22Μπαχριέ *acc* κυρία [εγώ-
22Bahrye **Miss [I-**
23Δασκάλα [και αυτό που έχουμε μέσα μας .
23Teacher **[((it also means)) what we have inside us**
24Κώστας *f* άλλο πνεύ[μα
24Costas **that's another [kind of 'pnevma'**
25Μπαχριέ [*acc* κυρία=
26Bahrye **[Miss=**
26Μελτέμ =*f* πνεύμα=
26Meltem **= 'pnevma'=**
27Γιάννης =πνεύ[μα=
27Giannis **= 'pnev[ma'=**
28Χουσείν [*acc* τέλειωσε η κουβέντα=
28Husein **[end of discussion=**
29Γιάννης =το πνεύμα μας=
29Giannis **=our 'pnevma'=**
30Μπαχριέ =*f* η κυρία . η κυρία Σοφία όλο λέει [τώ::ρα θα κάνουμε (…)
30Bahrye **= Ms Ms Sophia always says [now we'll do (...)**
31Βάσια [*f* Μελτέ::μ . κοίτα (hh) τα πνεύ(hh)ματα
31Vasia **[Meltem look 'pnevmata'**
32Μπαχριέ [(…)=
32Barhye **[(...)=**
33Βάσια [(hh)πνεύμα
33Vasia **['pnevma'**
34Δασκάλα =δηλαδή αυτό ((δείχνει το κεφάλι της)) [θέλει να πει
34Teacher **= in other words this ((points to her head)) that's what [she means**

---

viewers of horror films among the 4th graders), Greek-Turkish bilinguals in particular were keen on delving into these topics more than their Greek monolingual peers.

35Κώστας		[*acc f* ξέρεις τί
35Costas		**[do you know**
36	γράφει εδώ; .. Σατανάς γράφει hhhhh=	
36	**what's written here? Satan is written ((here)=**	
37Γιάννης	=*ff* Σατανάς να [τον φας	
37Giannis	**=Satan you [eat him**	
38Χουσείν	[*acc f* η κουβέντα τέλειωσε	
38Husein	**[end of discussion**	
39Δασκάλα	έχω πει . ότ' αυτή η συζήτηση . για τα συγκεκριμένα πράγματα αυτά .	
39Teacher	**I have told you so many times that this sort of discussions**	
40Μελτέμ	*acc f* εσύ δεν πιστεύεις;	
40Meltem	**don't you believe in them ((i.e. supernatural beings))?**	

Transcript 10 (context 1, 5/3/99, with the form teacher)

((Η δασκάλα έχει ζητήσει από τον Νώντα να έρθει στον πίνακα για να λύσει μια άσκηση στα μαθηματικά. Ο Νώντας όμως διστάζει))
((The teacher has just allocated the next turn to Nontas, who seems hesitant to come to the blackboard to do the maths exercise))

1Δασκάλα	*f* έ::λα Νώντα ..
1Teacher	**come on Nontas**
2Κώστας	*f* Νώ::-ντα .
2Costas	**Nonta**
3Τουτζάι	*p* Νώ::-ντα .
3Tuncay	**Nonta**
4Νώντας	*pp acc* δεν ξέρω πώς να την κάνω .
4Nontas	**I don't know how to do it ((the exercise))**
5Δασκάλα	*acc* σήκω . και θα σου πω εγώ ..
5Teacher	**come ((to the blackboard)) and I'll show you**
6	*f* Κώστα θα σε δεί::-ρω
6	**Costas you're in for a good smacking**
7( )	hhhh . hh
7( )	**hhh hh**

Transcript 11 (context 2, 30/3/99)

((Ο Τουτζάι, ο Χουσείν, ο Μπάμπης και ο Γιάννης γράφουν μια έκθεση στην οποία εκθέτουν τα πλεονεκτήματα του εξωσχολικού διαβάσματος και τι μπορεί να κάνει το κράτους να το ενισχύσει))
((Tuncay, Husein, Babis and Giannis have been assigned a writing task (an essay), which consists of arguing persuasively for the benefits of reading books and making suggestions about what the state could do to improve reading practices among school-age children))

((Ο Γιάννης είναι ο γραμματέας της ομάδας και οι Τουτζάι, Χουσείν και Μπάμπης λένε ιδέες που μπορούν να συμπεριλάβουν στην εκθεσή τους))
((Giannis is the group secretary. Tuncay, Husein and Babis are brainstorming for ideas to include in the essay))

1Τουτζάι	ε::μεί . ζητάμε από την πολιτεία ..
1Tuncay	**we are asking the state for**
2Μπάμπης	*acc* λεφτά .

2Babis **money**
3Γιάννης ((γράφει συλλαβίζοντας)) ε- μεί:ς .. .. [ζη- τά::- με
3Giannis **((he reads aloud as he writes)) we are [asking**
4Τουτζάι [*acc* γιατί είμαστε
4Tuncay **[because we are**
5 ζητάνοι . γιατί είμαστε ζητιάνοι . γράψε .. ζητάμε λεφτά .
5 **beggars because we are beggars write ((this down)) we are asking**
6 γιατί είμαστε ζητιάνοι και γύφτοι . hhhh
6 **for money because we are beggars and gypsies hhh** [186]
7Μπάμπης hhhh
7Babis **hhhh**
8Γιάννης hhhh Κουρδι(hhh)στάν hhhh hhh
8Giannis **hhhh Kurdi(hhh)stan hhhh hhh**
9Τουτζάι *acc f* κυρία . άκουσες τί είπε;
9Tuncay **Ms did you hear what he just said?**
((Η Βάλλη είναι στην άλλη άκρη της αίθουσας με την άλλη ομάδα))
((Vally is at the other side of the classroom working with the other group))
10Βάλλη *p* δεν άκουσα . και ούτε θέλω νακούσω
10Vally [187] **I didn't hear and I don't want to hear ((what he said))**
11Γιάννης *f* κυρία:: . (hh)μου (hh)λέει ο Του(hh)τζάι να γρά(hhh)ψω=
11Giannis **Ms Tuncay tells me to write that=**
12Τουτζάι *f* ε:::: κυρία . *acc* πλάκα έκανα=
13Tuncay **Miss I was only joking=**
((Η Βάλλη έρχεται στην ομάδα))
((Vally comes over to the group))
13Γιάννης =μου λέει μου λέει να [γράψω-
13Giannis **=he says to [write-**
14Τουτζάι ε:::- *acc* εμένα λέει Κουρδιστάν . έτσι λέει=
14Tuncay **he keeps calling me Kurdistan that's what he says=**
15Γιάννης μου λέει . [μου λέει να γράψουμε ότι *acc* (hhh)είμαστε ζητιάνοι και γύφτοι h
15Giannis **he tells [he tells me to write that we are beggars and gypsies**
16Τουτζάι [*f* αυτός λέει . ο Μπάμπης .. *acc* κυρία ο Μπάμπης λέει=
16Tuncay **[he says Babis ((says)) Ms Babis says=**
17Βάλλη =*f* παιδιά=
17Vally **=children=**
18Τουτζάι =*acc f* ότι από την πολιτεία ζητάμε λεφτά .. έτσι λέει .
18Tuncay **=that we should ask money from the state that's what he says**
19Βάλλη *acc f* και επειδή το λέει ο Μπάμπης είναι σωστό;=
19Vally **and because Babis says it is that so?=**
20Τουζάι =*p* όχι=
20Tuncay **=no=**
21Γιάννης =*f* εμείς ζητάμε από την πολιτεία .
21Giannis **=we are asking from the state**
22Τουτζάι *p* γιατί είμαστε γύφτοι hhh
22Tuncay **because we are gypsies hhh=**
23Μπάμπης =*f* κάνε [καμιά παράγραφο . [Γιάννη
23Babis **start [a new paragraph [Gianni**
24Τουτζάι [*p* γύφτοι . γύφτοι hhh
24Tuncay **[gypsies gypsies**
25Χουσείν [*f* Μπεμπιλίνο::: [hhhh

---

[186] In Modern Greek, the word 'γύφτος' ('jiftos') is employed as an ethnic/cultural label for gypsies. At the same time, it is used as a pejorative term.
[187] In Transcript 11, the teacher has stepped out of the classroom for a few minutes and had asked me to supervise the pupils. This explains my participation in this exchange.

25Husein		**[Bebilino**	**[hhhh**
26Μπάμπης			[*acc* είσαι=
26Babis			**[you are=**
27Χουσείν	=*acc f* Μπεμπιλίνο είσαι συ hhhh=		
27Husein	**=you are Bebilino hhh=**		
28Τουτζάι	=*f* hhhhh hh		
28 Tuncay	**=hhhhh hh**		
	((Η Βάλλη έρχεται κοντά στο τραπέζι που κάθεται η ομάδα))		
	((Vally comes over to table where the small group is sitting))		
29Βάλλη	για:: συζητήστε το . τί ζητάτε από την πολιτεία; ..		
29Vally	**discuss it among yourselves what are you asking the state for?**		
30Χουσείν	*p* συζητήστε [το		
30Husein	**discuss [it**		
31Τουτζάι	[*f* εμεί::ς ((ζητάμε)) .. να βγάζει		[πιο πολλά βιβλία .
31Tuncay	**[we ((ask from the state)) to produce**		**[more books**
32Χουσείν			[hhhhhh .. hhh
32Husein			**[hhhhhh hhh**
33Τουτζάι	[και νέα . και- κο- καινούργια . κονούργια . κονουρά .		
33Tuncay	**[and new and ne new new new new ((ones))**		
34Χουσείν	[hhhhhh hhh		
34Husein	**[hhhhhh hhh**		
35Γιάννης	*acc* τί δηλαδή;		
35Giannis	**like what?**		
36Τουτζάι	*f* ΟΧΙ .. γράψε .. ΟΧΙ . όπως . *ff* η Κοκκινοσκουφίτσα .		
36Tuncay	**not like write this not like Little Red Riding Hood**		
37	Τα Τρία Γουρουνάκια . Πελεκάνος και ο- . η Αλεπού ..		
37	**The Three Little Pigs The Pelican and the Fox**		
38	Οι Περσικοί Πόλεμοι . Η Υδρόγεια		
38	**The Persian Wars The Earth** [188]		
39	όχι όπως=		
39	**not like=**		
40Χουσείν	=*acc f* οι γύφτοι οι πελακάνοι=		
40Husein	**=the gypsies the pelicans=**		
41Τουτζάι	=αυτά hhh [hhh		
41Tuncay	**=that's all hhh [hhh**		
42Χουσείν	[hhhh hhh . *acc f atato ge::* .		
42Husein	**[hhhh hhh atato ge::** [189]		
43Μπάμπης	((στο Γιάννη)) *f* κάνε παράγρφο .. κάνε παράγραφο		
43Babis	**((to Gannis)) start a new paragraph . start a new paragraph**		
44Χουσείν	*f* κάνιε παράγκραφο=		
44Husein	**shtart a njew paragraph** [190]		
43Μπάμπης	=*f* κάνε παράγραφο ρε Γιάννη		
43Babis	**=start a new paragraph (re) Gianni=**		
44Γιάννης	=*ff* αφού κάνω ..		
44Giannis	**=I'm starting ((a new paragraph))**		
...			
71Μπάμπης	((στο Γιάννη)) τί έγραψες εδώ; ...		
71Babis	**((to Giannis)) what did you write here?**		
72Τουτζάι	((προς Μπάμπη)) *acc* έλα ρε ... τί κοιτάς (hh)εκεί(hh); ...		

[188] Tuncay refers to different children's books they had read at school or they had borrowed to read at home in earlier grades.

[189] This is a hybrid cry comprised of the nonsense cry 'atato' and part of the one-liner 'gee bana' (4.5.5).

[190] Through the palatalisations and fronting of consonants, Husein shifts to baby talk.

72Tuncay	**((to Babis)) come on (re) what at you staring (hh)at(hh)?.**
73Μπάμπης	((προς Τουτζάι)) *p* gee bana .
73Babis	**((to Tuncay)) gee bana (i.e. come to me)**
74Τουτζάι	α-*f* ((στη Βάλλη)) κυρία . αυτός όλο λέει- gee bana . αυτός .
74Tuncay	**a ((to Vally)) Ms he's saying gee bana all the time he ((is))**
75	((προς Μπάμπη)) *p* φύγε(hhh)
75	**((to Babis)) go away(hhh)**
76Βάλλη	Μπάμπη σε παρακαλώ . κάτσε ήσυχος .
76Vally	**Babis keep quiet please**

Transcript 12 (context 3, 15/3/99)

((Η Βάσια, η Μελτέμ και η Μπαχριέ τρώνε μαζί))
((Vasia, Meltem and Bahrye are having lunch together))

1Βάσια	*f* ναι:: .. *ff* ((τραγουδά)) εί:στε χαζά . εί:στε χαζά και τρελά .
1Vasia	**yes ((she sings)) you are stupid you are stupid and crazy**
2Μελτέμ	μαμά:::=
2Meltem	**oh my gosh=**
3Βάσια	=τζι::τζί με::μέ=
3Vasia	**=tsitsi meme [191]=**
4Μελτέμ	=μαμά:::=
4Meltem	**=oh my gosh=**
5Βάσια	=hhh . είσαι τζι::τζί με::μέ . τζι::τζί με::μέ . τζι::τζί με::μέ ..
5Vasia	**=hhh you are tsitsi meme tsitsi meme tsitsi meme**
6	*f* λοπόν . ποιός είναι- . *acc* τζι::τζί με::μέ; ..
6	**so who is tsitsi meme?**
7	*ff* γκο γκο γκο . σι σι σι . το γου-ρού-νι εί-σαι 'συ .
7	**inie minie minie mow you're 'it'**
8	άρα εσύ 'σαι hhh hhh
8	**so you are 'it' hhh hhh**
9Μελτέμ	*acc* βγαίνω 'γώ . αυτή είναι .
8Meltem	**I'm out she's 'it'**
9Βάσια	άρα εσύ είσαι ..
9Vasia	**so you're 'it'**
10	γκο γκο γκο . σι σι σι . το γου-ρού-νι εί-σαι 'συ . hhhh
10	**inie minie minie mow you're 'it' hhh**
11	εσύ βγήκες τώρα .. *ff* α:: βγαίνεις . α:::::::::::: *p* έτσι κάνω ...
11	**you're out now uh you're out uh that's what I do**
12Μελτέμ	*acc* μανούλα μου
12Meltem	**oh my gosh**
13Δάσκαλος	*ff* Βάσια τελειώσες;
13Teacher	**Vasia have you finished ((lunch))**
14Βάσια	*p* ναι
14Vasia	**yes**
15Δάσκαλος	*ff* έξω .. περάστε . τελειώνετε . δύο η ώρα ..
15Teacher	**((all)) out come on finish up it's 2 o'clock [192]**

((Η Βάσια, η Μελτέμ και η Μπαχριέ σηκώνονται από το τραπέζι που κάθονταν και παίρνουν τα πιάτα τους))

---

[191] Vasia is repeating a one-liner from Turkish TV ('çiçi meme', tsitsi meme' is loosely translated as 'cute boobs' (5.5.2).

[192] Lunchtime for 1st to 3rd graders was from 12.30pm until 1.20pm and for 4th to 6th graders was from 13.30pm until 2.00pm.

((Vasia, Meltem and Bahrye get up taking their plates with them and slowly making their way to the exit of the dining hall))

Transcript 13 (context 5, 15/3/99)

((Η Μελτέμ, η Μπαχριέ και η Βάσια δοκιμάζουν το μικρόφωνο που χρησιμοποιώ για μαγνητοφωνήσεις μέσα στην τάξη. Ο Μπάμπης και εγώ είμαστε επίσης στην αίθουσα. Ο Μπάμπης, που είνα τιμωρία και δεν μπορεί να βγει να πάιξει στο διάλειμμα με τα άλλα παιδιά, προσπαθεί να συμμετάσχει στην συζήτηση των τριών κοριτσιών. Εγώ πάλι κάθομαι σε μια γωνιά της τάξης και καθαρογράφω τις σημειώσεις μου.
((Meltem, Bahrye and Vasia are trying out the microphone I have been using to record classroom interactions during the break. Babis and I, who are also present in the classroom, witness the exchange that ensues. While the following role enactment activity chiefly develops among the three girls, Babis, who is supposed to be doing some homework he had missed that day, attempts to contribute to it. I avoid participating in the exchange, as I am sitting at a far corner of the classroom, copying my field-notes))

1Μπαχριέ	*f* πρώτα η Μελτέμ τραγουδάει . έλα=
1Bahrye	**first Meltem sings come on=**
	((δίνει το μικρόφωνο στη Μελτέμ))
	((Bahrye hands the microphone over to Meltem))
2Βάλλη	=εντάξει:; . με προσοχή μεγάλη θέλω
2Vally	**=ok? I want you to be very careful ((with the microphone))**
3Μπάμπης	((τραγουδιστά)) *f* ταλαριραρι[ρουμ
3Babis	**((he sings)) talarirari[roum**
4( )	[σ::
4( )	**[sh**
5Μπαχριέ	*f* έν- α:: δύ:ο τρία:: . *acc* εμείς [τη βλέπουμε
5Bahrye	**one two three we [are looking at her**
6Μελτέμ	[*f* 'α:::ι::: ((στη Βάλλη)) εσύ θα φύ:γεις;
6Meltem	**[ai ((to Vally)) will you leave?**
7Βάλλη	θα φύγω να μην ακούω .. θέλεις να μείνω; ..
7Vally	**I'll leave so that I don't hear do you want me to stay?**
8Μπαχριέ	έν::-α:: δύ::ο τρία:: πάμε=
8Bahrye	**one two three go=**
9Μελτέμ	=*acc* ((στη Μπαχριέ)) 'α::- άσε μας ..
9Meltem	**=((to Bahrye)) a leave us alone**
10Μπαχριέ	*p* έλα
10Bahrye	**come on**
11Μελτέμ	((τραγουδά)) *ff* στο ασανσέρ που συναντιώ::μαστε
11Meltem	**((she sings)) whenever we meet in the lift**
12	φαντα[ζό::μαστε να συμ[βαίνουν
12	**we ima[gine all sorts of wild [things happening between us**
13Μπαχριέ	[*p* cıkaram [*p* cıkaram
13Bahrye	**[let me present you [let me present you**
	((παίρνει το μικρόφωνο από τη Μελτέμ))
	((she takes the microphone from Meltem))
14Μελτέμ	*f* 'α:: θα με βγάλει . (... [ )
14Meltem	**a she's going to present me (... [ )**
15Μπαχριέ	[*p acc* χτύπα χέρια . χτυπήστε χέρια
15Bahrye	**[clap ((your)) hands clap hands**
	((χειροκροτήματα))

((clapping can be heard))
16Μπαχριέ *ff* γειά σας .. τί κά::νετε; . καλώς ορί::σατε ..
16Bahrye **hello everybody how are you today? welcome ((to our show))**
17 *f* σήμερα έχουμε μια τραγουδίστρια που είναι πολύ:: ωραί::α μ::=
17 **today we have with us a singer who is very beautiful mm=**
18Μπαμπής = *p* η Μελτέμ Τζουμπούλ .
18Babis **=Meltem Cumbul**
19Μπαχριέ ε:: *ff acc* τη λένε Meltem Cumbul και θα μας τραγουδήσει-
19Bahrye **e her name is Meltem Cumbul and she will sing for us**
20 ((τραγουδά)) στο ασανσέρ που συναντίω::μαστε hhh
20 **((she sings)) whenever we meet in the lift hhh**
((χειροκροτήματα))
((clapping))
21Μελτέμ αι:: hhh [*f* 'σταμάτα
21Meltem **ai hhh [stop**
((παίρνει το μικρόφωνο από την Μπαχριέ))
((she takes the microphone from Bahrye))
22( ) [hhhh
22( ) **[hhhh**
23Μελτέμ ((τραγουδά)) *f* στο ασανσέρ που συναντιώ::μαστε
23Meltem **((she sings)) whenever we meet in the lift**
24 [φανταζό::μαστε να συμ[βαί- hhh
24 **[we imagine all sorts of [wild- hhh**
25( ) [hhh hh [hhh
25( ) **[hhh hh** **[hhh**
26Μελτέμ *f* 'χτυπάτε δάχτυλα
26Meltem **clap your hands**
((χειροκροτήματα))
((clapping can be heard))
27Μελτέμ ((κάνει τη φωνή της πιο βαθυά)) *f* στο ασανσέρ που
27Meltem **((she makes her voice sound deeper)) whenever we meet**
28 [συναντιώ::μαστε φανταζό::μαστε
28 **[in the lift we imagine all sorts of wild**
29( ) [hhh hhh
29 **[hhh hhh**
30Μελτέμ ((κάνει τη φωνή της πιο λεπτή)) *f* να συμβαί::νουν [τα πιο
30Meltem **((in a high pitch voice)) things [happening**
31Μπαχριέ [*ff* ευχαριστούμε τη
31Bahrye **[thank you**
32Μπαχριέ Meltem Cumbul=
32Bahrye **Meltem Cumbel=**
((παίρνει το μικρόφωνο από τη Μελτέμ))
((she takes the microphone from Meltem))
32Μελτέμ *f* 'άσε μας καλή-
32Meltem **leave us alone**
((δυνατά χειροκροτήματα καθώς η Μελτέμ απομακρύνεται από τη 'σκηνή'))
((loud clapping can be heard as Meltem retires from the 'stage'))

Transcript 14 (context 4, 15/3/99)

((Η Βάσια σιγοτραγουδά περπατώντας στην τάξη καθώς ελέγχει τις ασκήσεις του Μπάμπη))
((Vasia can be heard singing to herself, as she is moving around the classroom checking on how Babis is doing with his homework))

1Βάσια	((στέκεται πάνω προς Μπάμπη)) κάνε- ντου=
1Vasia	**((standing over Babis)) do ntou=**
2Μπάμπης	=*f* ου ... μανούλα ντουρού
2Babis	**=ou manoula ntourou** [193]
3Βάσια	ντουρούρου ντουρού . ω ρε μια μολυβά::ρα hhh
3Vasia	**dourourou dourou oh what a huge pencil hhh**
4	*acc* (ha)Μπάμπη (ha)Μπάμπη . ω- . ρε- . μια- . μολυβάρα hhh
4	**(ha)Babi (ha)Babi oh (re) what a HUGE pencil hhh**
5	στο 'Κατά Μάρκον Ευαγγέλιο' ... τόχεις δει; .... ε;
5	**in 'The Gospel according to St. Mark' have you seen it? have you?**
6Μπάμπης	ποιό;
6Babis	**what?**
7Βάσια	στο 'Κατά Μάρκον Ευαγγέλιο'=
7Vasia	**in 'The Gospel according to St. Mark'=**
8Μπάπμης	*acc* δε το βλέπω ρε συ . δεν πρόλαβα να το δω το μεσημέρι=
8Babis	**I don't watch it (re) I missed it ((yesterday)) afternoon=**
9Βάσια	=πλάκα έχει hhh ..
9Vasia	**=it's a lot of fun hhh**
10Μπάμπης	*p* το ξέρω ..
10Babis	**I know**
9Μπαχριέ	*f* καλά . εμένα μου αρέσει εκεί πέ::[ρα
9Bahrye	**you know I liked that bit [where**
10Βάσια	[*acc* εντάξει εντάξει εσένα
10Vasia	**[yeah alright you like**
11	σου αρέσουν τα πάντα έλα=
11	**everything come on=**
12Μπαχριέ	=(hh)εντάξει (hh)τώρα ε hhh ..
12Bahrye	**=(hh)fine (hh)alright um hhh**

Transcript 15 (context 5, 15/3/99)

((Μόλις έχει χτυπήσει το κουδούνι για μάθημα και τα παιδιά επιστρέφοθν στην τάξ.η. Πριν από το παρακάτω απόσπασμα., ο Χουσείν και η Βάσια τραγουδούσαν στο μικρόφωνο))
((The bell has just rung and peer group members are slowly coming back to the classroom. Prior to this excerpt, Husein and Vasia are singing and talking nonsense in the microphone))

1Βάσια	*ff* ε::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::μαμα:: .
1Vasia	**e mama**
2Μπάμπης	*f acc* Χουσείνα Σαλίνα .
2Babis	**Huseina Salina** [194]
3( )	[hhh
3( )	**[hhh**

[193] In lines 1-2, Vasia and Babis seem to be engaging in language play, based on the repetition of the vowel [ou]. The word 'manoula' (literally 'mummy') can also be used as to express admiration or wonder.
[194] 'Huseina Salina' is another of Husein's nicknames. Note that by adding the vowel [a] at the end of Husein's first and last names, they are transformed into female names (4.5.1).

4Χουσείν	[*acc f* Βάσια Πολυκαδρίτη Κό:λλια Κό:λλια . Κό:λλια
4Husein	**[Vasia Polukadriti [195] Kollia Kollia Kollia**
5	Κό:λλια Κό:λλια Κό:λλια ((τραγουδιστά)) Κό:λλια Κό:λλια
5	**Kollia Kollia Kollia ((singing)) Kollia Kollia**
6	*ff* Κό::λλια:: Κό::λλια::=
6	**Kollia Kollia =**
7Βάλλη	=((προς Χουσείν)) τί θα πει αυτή η λέξη;
7Vally	**=((to Husein)) what does this word mean?**
8Χουσείν	Κόλλια . αυτό φοράς .
8Husein	**Kollia/kolya [196] you are wearing it**
9Βάλλη	αα τί; , τίναι αυτό;
9Vally	**huh what? what's that?**
10Χουσείν	((απομαρκύνεται φωνάζοντας)) *ff* Κό:λλια Κό:λλια [Κό:λλια
10Husein	**((he moves away from me calling out)) Kollia Kollia [Kollia**
11Βάλλη	[((στον
11Vally	**[((to Babis))**
12	Μπάμπη)) τίναι αυτό;
12	**what is it? ((what does it mean))?**
13Μπάμπης	λέξη . (hh)να φοράω Κόλλια . κυρία φοράω Κόλλια/kolya=
13Babis	**it's a word look I'm wearing Kollia/kolya Ms I'm wearing Kollia/kolya=**
14Βάλλη	=αυτό ((η μπλούζα)) [είναι Κόλλια;
14Vally	**=is this ((the blouse)) [called Kollia/kolya?**
15Γιάννης	[*f acc* Χουσείνα Σαλίνα [Χουσείνα Σαλίνα'
15Giannis	**[Huseina Salina [Huseina Salina**
16Μπάμπης	[*f* φορά::ω Κό::λλια=
16Babis	**[I'm wearing Kollia/kolya=**
17Χουσείν	=*ff* Κό:λλια . Κό:λλια ..
17Husein	**= Kollia Kollia**

[195] 'Polukadriti' is Vasia's last name.

[196] The word 'kolya', which means 'necklace' in the local Turkish variety of Gazi, is homophonous with Giannis' nickname/surname. During the name-calling activity, Husein has been using 'Kollia' to refer to Giannis' nickname/surname. From this point onwards, Husein introduces the homophonous Turkish word 'kolya' in discourse. For this reason, whenever Husein or Babis refer to something Ior they are wearing, I include both words ('Kollia/kolya') in the translation.

References

Abrahams, R. D. (1974) Black Talking on the Streets. In: R. Bauman & J. Sherzer, eds., *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 240-262.

Aarsæther, F. (2002) Discourse Related Code Switching among Pakistani Children in Norway: A Response to a Change in Footing and a Way of Expressing Cultural Hybridity? Paper presented at *Sociolinguistics Symposium 14*, University of Gent (April 4-6 2002).

Altani, C. (1992) *Gender Construction in Classroom Interaction: Primary Schools in Greece.* Unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Lancaster.

Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised edition). London: Verso.

Androulakis, G. (1994) Towards the Formal Analysis of the Greek-French Code-switching in Paris. In: I. Philippaki-Warburton et al, eds., *Themes in Greek Linguistics. Papers from the International Conference on Greek Linguistics.* University of Reading (September 1993), 357- 364.

---------- (1999) La Contestation de l' Hégémonie de la Langue d' Accueil par la Langue d' Immigration. Un équilibre Fragile entre Français et Grec. In: A.–F. Christidis, ed., *"Strong" and "Weak" Languages in the European Union Aspects of Linguistic Hegemonism* (Vol. 1). Thessaloniki: Centre for the Greek Language, 497- 504.

Androusou, A. (1996) An Intercultural Dimension in Educational Practice In: A. Vafea, ed., *The Multicoloured School. An Experience of Intercultural Education through Art*. Athens: Nisos, 11- 23.

Antaki, C. & S. Widdicombe (eds) (1998) *Identities in Talk.* London: Sage.

Antonopoulou, E. & M. Sifianou [forthcoming] Convesational Dynamics of Humour: The Telephone Game in Greek. *Journal of Pragmatics*.

Apostolou-Panara, A. (1994) Language Change Under Way? The Case of the Definitive Article in Modern Greek. In: I. Phillipaki- Warburton et al, eds., *Themes in Greek Linguistics. Papers from the International Conference on Greek Linguistics.* Amsterdam: Benjamins, 397- 404.

Archakis, A. (1992) *To Fainomeno tis Diakopis sto Sxoliko Sunomiliako Plaisio kai i kata Fula Diaforopoiisi tou* [Interruption in the School Context and its Differentiation according to Sex]. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

---------- (1996) Deiktes Organosis tou Logou. To 'Diladi' kai i Sxesi tou me Sunafeis Ekfraseis [Discourse Markers: 'So' and its Relationship with

Similar Expressions]. Unpublished PhD thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

Arleo, A. (2001) The Saga of Susie: The Dynamics of an International Handclapping Game. In: J. C. Bishop & M. Curtis, eds., *Play Today in the Primary School Playground.* Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 115- 132.

Armitage, M. (2001) The Ins and Outs of School Playground Play: Children Uses of Play 'Spaces'. In: J. C. Bishop & M. Curtis, eds., *Play Today in the Primary School Playground.* Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 37- 57.

Arthur, J. (2001) Code-switching and Collusion: Classroom Interaction in Botswana Primary Schools. In: M. Heller & M. Martin-Jones, eds., *Voices of Authority, Education and Linguistic Difference.* Westport, CT: Albex, 57- 75.

Asimakopoulou, F. & S. Christidou-Lionaraki (2002) I Mousoulmaniki Meionotita tis Thrakis kai oi Ellinotourkikes Sxeseis [The Muslim Minority of Thrace and Greek-Turkish Relations]. Athens: Livanis.

Athanasopoulos, G. (1997) Glossa kai Taftotita [Language and Identity]. Paper presented at *"Taksideuontas sto Diplano Thranio". Skepseis kai Draseis apo to Xoro tis Diapolitismikis Ekpaideusis* [Travelling to the Next Desk. Action Research in Inter-cultural Education]. University of Athens (13 May 1997).

Auer, J.C.P. (1988) A Conversation Analytic Approach to Code-switching and Transfer. In: M. Heller, ed., *Code-switching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 187- 213.

Auer, J. C. P. & I. Dirim [forthcoming] Sociocultural Orientation, Urban Youth Styles and the Spontaneous Acquisition of Turkish by Non-Turkish Adolescents in Germany. In: J. K. Androutsopoulos & A. Georgakopoulou, eds., *The Construction of Youth Identities* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Avramopoulou, I. & L. Karakatsanis (2002) Diadromes tis Taftotitas: Apo ti Dutiki Thraki sto Gazi [Paths of Identity: From Western Thrace to Gazi]. *Theseis* (April-June): 127- 162.

Baltsiotis, L. (1997) Ellikiki Dioikisi kai Meionotiki Ekpaideusi sti Dutiki Thraki [The Greek State and Minority Education in Western Thrace] In: Tsitselikis, K. & D. Christopoulos, eds., *To Meionotiko Fainomeno stin Ellada. Mia Sumvoli ton Koinonikon Epistimon* [The Minority Phenomenon in Greece. A Social Scientific Perspective]. Athens: Kritiki, 315- 348.

Bauman, R. (1986) *Story, Performance and Event. Contextual Studies of Oral Narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

---------- (2000) Language, Identity, Performance. In: V. Pagliai & M. Farr, eds., Art and the Expression of Complex Identities: Imagining and Contesting Ethnicity in Performance (special issue). *Pragmatics* 10(1): 1-5.

---------- & C. Briggs (1990) Poetics and Performance as Critical Perspectives on Language and Social Life. *Annual Review of Anthropology.* 19: 59- 88.

Baynham, M. (1996) Humour as an Interpersonal Resource in Adult Numeracy Classrooms. In: S. Sarangi & M. Baynham, eds., Discursive Construction of Educational Identities: Alternative Readings (special issue). *Language and Education* 10(2&3): 187- 200.

Bekkers, M.-J. (2002) Language Practices as a Focus of Conversational Humour: Underlining Sameness by Humorously Emphasising Otherness. Paper presented at *BAAL 2002*. University of Cardiff (12- 14 September 2002).

Bateson, G. (1972) *Steps to an Ecology of the Mind.* Chicago: University of Chicago.

Bennett, A. (1999) Hip Hop am Main: The Localization of Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture. *Media, Culture and Society.* 21: 77- 91.

Boeschoten, H. E. & Verhoeven, L. (1987) Language-Mixing in Children's Speech: Dutch Language Use in Turkish Discourse. *Language Learning*. 37(1): 191- 215.

Birbili, M. (1994) Ena Alvanaki stin Taksi mas. Paidia Ksenon Ethnikotiton stous Paidikous Stathmous kai ta Nipiagogeia [An Albanian Child in our Class. Children of Foreign Backgrounds in Nursery Schools]. *Anoixto Sxoleio*: 5-7.

Bishop, J. C. & Curtis, M. (eds.) (2001a) *Play Today in the Primary School Playground.* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

---------- (2001b) Introduction. In J.C. Bishop & M. Curtis, eds., *Play Today in the Primary School Playground.* Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1-19.

Blatchford, P. (1998) *Social Life in School. Pupils' Experience of Breaktime and Recess from 7 to 16 Years.* London: Falmer Press.

---------- (2001) *The Social Value of School Breaktimes: Recent Research Evidence.* Paper presented at "*Dimensions of Play: Time, Space and Imagination in Children's Oral Culture*". University of Sheffield. (24- 27 July, 2001).

Blommaert, J. & J. Verschueren (1998) *Debating Diversity. Analysing the Discourse of Tolerance*. London & NY: Routledge.

Blum-Kulka, S (2000) Gossipy Events at Family Dinners: Negotiating Sociability, Presence and the Moral Order. In: J. Coupland, ed., *Small Talk.* Harlow: Longman, 211- 239.

Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* (Trans. R. Nice). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boxer, D. & F. Cortés-Conde (1997) From Bonding to Biting: Conversational Joking and Identity Display. *Journal of Pragmatics* 27: 275-294.

Brown, P. & S. Levinson (1978) Universals in Language Usage: Politeness Phenomena. In: E. Goody, ed., *Questions and Politeness Strategies in Social Interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 56- 311.

Bucholtz, M. (1999) "Why Be Normal?": Language and Identity Practices in a Community of Nerd Girls. *Language in Society*. 28: 203- 223.

Cameron, D., Frazer, E., Harvey P., Rampton M.B.H. & K. Richardson (1992) *Researching Language: Issues of Power and Method*. London/NY: Routledge.

Canagarajah, S. A. (1995) Functions of Code-switching in ESL Classrooms: Socialising Bilingualism in Jaffa. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 16(3): 173-195.

Candela, A. (1999) Students' Power in Classroom Discourse. *Linguistics & Education*. 10(2): 139- 163.

Cazden, C. (1988) *Classroom Discourse. The Language of Teaching and Learning*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Cazden, C., John, V. & D. Hymes (1972) *The Functions of Language in the Classroom*. NY: Teachers College Press.

Chouliaraki, L. [forthcoming] Mediated Experiences and Youth Identities in a Post-traditional Order. In: J. K. Androutsopoulos & A. Georgakopoulou, eds., *The Construction of Youth Identities* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Cicourel, A. V. (ed.) (1974) *Language Use and School Performance*. NY: Academic Press.

Coates, J. (2000) Small Talk and Subversion: Female Speakers Backstage. In: J. Coupland, ed., *Small Talk*. Harlow: Longman, 241- 263.

Cook, G. (2000) *Language Play, Language Learning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Corsaro, W.A. (1985) *Friendship and Peer Culture in the Early Years*. Norwood, NJ: Albex.

Corsaro, W. A. & D. Eder (1990) Children's Peer Cultures. *Annual Review of Sociology* 16: 197-220.

Corsaro, W. A. & T. A. Rizzo (1990) Disputes in the Peer Culture of American and Italian Nursery-school Children. In: A. Grimshaw, ed., *Conflict Talk: Sociolinguistic Investigations in Conversations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 21- 66.

Costouli, T. (1997) Koinoniko Perivallon, Keimenikes Deksiotites kai Sxoliki Epidosi [Social Factors, Discourse Competences and Academic Performance]. *Glossa.* 41 (winter issue): 43- 57.

---------- (1998) Koinokies Diafores kai Xrisi tis Glossas: Deuterevouses Protaseis [Social Difference and Language Use: The Case of Secondary Clauses] In: *Studies in Greek Linguistics. Proceedings of the 18th Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics*. Thessaloniki, 289- 303.

Coupland, J., Jeffrey, R. D. & N. Coupland (1994) Frame Negotiation in Doctor-Elderly Patient Consultations. *Discourse & Society* 5(1): 89- 124.

Creese, A. (2002) Mediating Allegations of Racism in a Multi-ethnic London School: What Speech Communities and Communities of Practice can Tell us about Discourse and Power. Paper presented at *BAAL 2002*. University of Cardiff (12- 14 September 2002).

Crystal, D. (1998) *Language Play*. London: Penguine.

Curtis, M. (2001) Counting In and Counting Out: Who Knows What in the Playground. In: J. C. Bishop & M. Curtis, eds., *Play Today in the Primary School Playground.* Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 62- 79.

Cutler, C.A. (1999) Yorkville Crossing: White Teens, Hip Hop, and African American English. In: B. Rampton (ed.) Styling the Other (special issue). *Journal of Sociolinguistics.* 3(4): 428- 442.

Dabène, L & Moore, D. (1998) Bilingual Speech of Migrant People. In: L. Milroy & P. Muysken, eds., *One Speaker Two Languages: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives on Code-switching.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 17- 44.

Davis, B. (1982) *Life in the Classroom and Playground: The Accounts of Primary School Children*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

---------- (1983) The Role of Pupils Play in the Social Construction of Classroom Order. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 4(1): 55- 69.

Davis, B. & R. Harré (1990) Positioning: The Discourse Production of Selves. *Journal of the Theory of Social Behaviour*. 20(1): 43- 63.

Dawkins. R. M. (1916) *Modern Greek in Asia Minor: A Study of the Dialects of Silli, Cappadocia and Pharasa with Grammar, Texts, Translations and Glossary.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Diamondstone, J.V. (1999) Tactics of Resistance in Student-Student Interaction. *Linguistics & Education*. 10(1): 107- 137.

Divani, L. (1995) *Ellada kai Meionotites. To Sustima Diethnous Prostasias tis Koinonias ton Ethnon* [Greece and Minorities. The System of International Protection of the League of Nations]. Athens: Nefeli.

Deegan, J. G. (1996) *Children's Frienships in Culturally Diverse Classrooms.* London: The Falmer Press.

Demos, V. (1988) Ethnic Mother-Tongue Maintenance among Greek Orthodox Americans. In: J. R. Dow, ed., New Perspectives on Language Maintenance and Language Shift II. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language.* 69, 59- 71.

van Dijk, T. (1997) Discourse as Interaction in Society. In: T. van Dijk, ed., *Discourse as Social Interaction.* London: Sage, 1- 37.

Drew, P. (1987) Po-faced Receipts of Teases. *Linguistics* 25, 219-253.

Drew, P. & J. Heritage (1992) Analyzing Talk at Work: An Introduction. In: P. Drew & J. Heritage, eds., *Talk at Work. Interaction in Institutional Settings.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-65.

Dubisch, J. (1986) Introduction. In: J. Dubisch, ed., *Gender and Power in Rural Greece.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 3-41.

Dumont, R. V. Jr. (1972) Learning English and How to be Silent: Studies in Sioux and Cherokee Classrooms. In: C. B. Cazden, J. P. Vera & D. Hymes, eds., *Functions of Language in the Classroom.* NY: Teachers College Press, 344-369.

Dundes, A., Leach, J. W. & B. Özkök (1972) The Strategy of Turkish Boys' Verbal Dueling Rhymes. In: J. Gumperz & D. Hymes, eds., *Directions in Sociolinguistics. The Ethnography of Communication.* NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 130-160.

Duran, R. (ed.) (1981) *Latino Languages and Communicative Behavior.* Norwood, NJ: Albex.

Duranti, A. (1997) *Linguistic Anthropology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Duranti, A. & C. Goodwin (1992) *Rethinking Context. Language as an Interactive Phenomenon.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dutkova-Cope, L. (2000) Texas Czech Folk Music and Ethnic Identity. In: V. Pagliai & M. Farr, eds., Art and the Expression of Complex Identities: Imagining and Contesting Ethnicity in Performance (special issue). *Pragmatics* 10(1): 7- 37.

Eckert, P. (1989) *Jocks and Burnouts: Social Categories and Identity in the High School.* NY: Teachers College Press.

---------- (2000) *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice.* Malden, Mass: Blackwell.

Eckert, P. & McConnell-Ginet, S. (1992) Think Practically and Look Locally: Language and Gender as Community- Based Practice. *Annual Review of Anthropology.* 21: 461- 490.

Edelksy (1993) "Whose Got the Floor?". In: D. Tannen, ed., *Gender and Conversational Interaction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 189- 227.

Eder, D. (1990) Serious and Playful Disputes: Variation in Conflict Talk among Female Adolescents. In: A. Grimshaw, ed., *Conflict Talk: Sociolinguistic Investigations in Conversations.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 67-84.

---------- (1991) The Role of Teasing in Adolescent Peer Group Culture. In: S. Cahill, ed., *Sociological Studies of Child Development: Perspectives on & of Children* (Vol. 4). Greenwich, CT: JAI, 181- 197.

--------- (1993) "Go Get Ya a French!" Romantic and Sexual Teasing Among Adolescent Girls. In: D. Tannen, ed., *Gender and Conversational Interaction.* NY: Oxford University Press, 17-31.

--------- with C.C. Evans & S. Parker (1995) *School Talk. Gender and Adolescent Culture.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Edwards, A.D. & D.P.G. Westgate (1994) *Investigating Classroom Talk* (2nd edition). London: The Falmer Press.

Eisenberg, A.R. (1986) Teasing: Verbal Play in Two Mexican Homes. In: B.B. Schieffelin & E. Ochs, eds., *Language Socialization Across Cultures.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 182-198.

Empeirikos, L. & G. Mavromatis (1998/1999) Ethnotiki Taftotita kai Paradosiaki Mousiki stous Mousoulmanous tis Ellikikis Thrakis [Ethnic Identity and Traditional Music among the Muslims of Greek Thrace]. *Ethnologia* 6-7: 309- 343.

Empeirikos, L., Ioannidou A., Karatzola E., Baltsiotis L., Beis S., Tsitselikis, K. & D. Christopoulos (2001) *Glossiki Eterotita stin Ellada* [Linguistic Diversity in Greece]. Athens, Alexandria Press.

Erickson, F. & J. Schultz (1982) *The Counselor as Gate Keeper.* NY: Academic Press.

Eriksen, T.H. (1993) *Ethnicity and Nationalism. Anthropological Perspectives.* London: Pluto Press.

Factor, J. (2001) 'Though this Is Madness, Yet There Is Method In't': Play as Adaption and Innovation. Paper presented at *"Dimensions of Play: Time,*

Space and Imagination in Children's Oral Culture". University of Sheffield. (24- 27 July, 2001).

Farr, M. (2000) *A Mi No me Manda Nadie!* Individualism and Identity in Mexican *Ranchero* Speech. In: V. Pagliai & M. Farr, eds., Art and the Expression of Complex Identities: Imagining and Contesting Ethnicity in Performance (special issue). *Pragmatics*. 10(1): 61- 85.

Fairclough, N. (ed.) (1992) *Critical Language Awareness*. London: Longman.

Fine, G. A. (1981) Friends, Impression Management and Preadolescent Behavior. In S. R. Asher & J. M. Grottman, eds., *Development of Children's Friendships*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 29-52.

---------- (1984) Humorous Interaction and the Social Construction of Meaning: Making Sense in a Jocular Vein. In: N. Denzin, ed., *Studies in Symbolic Interaction* (Vol. 4.). Greenwich, CT.: JAI, 83-101.

Flanigan, B.O. (1991) Peer Tutoring and Second Language Acquisition in Elementary School. *Applied Linguistics.* Vol. 12(2): 141-158.

Fragkoudaki, A. & T. Dragona (eds.) (1997) "Ti 'nai I Patrida mas" Ethnokentrismos stin Ekpaideusi ["What is our Country?" Ethnocentrism in Education]. Athens: Alexandreia Press.

Gal, S. (1979) *Language Shift: Social Determinants of Linguistic Change in Bilingual Austria.* NY: Academic Press.

------ (1987) Code-switching and Consciousness in the European Periphery. *American Ethnologist*. 14(4): 637-653.

Galton, M. (1990) Grouping and Group Work. In: C. Rogers & P. Kutnick, eds., *The Social Psychology of the Primary School.* London: Routledge, 11- 30.

Gardner-Chloros, P. (1991) *Language Selection and Switching in Strasbourg*. Oxford: Clarendon.

---------- (1998) Code-switching in Community, Regional and National Repertoires: The Myth of Discreteness of Linguistic Systems. In: L. Milroy & P. Muysken, eds., *One Speaker Two Languages: Cross- Disciplinary Perspectives on Code-switching.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 68- 89.

Garfinkel, H. (1967) *Studies in Ethnomethodology.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Gee, J.P. (1996) *Social Linguistics and Literacies: Ideology in Discourses* (second edition). London: Taylor & Francis.

Geertz, C. (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures.* NY: Basic Books.

---------- ([1984]1988) "From the Native's Point of View": On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding. In: R.A. Shweder & R.A. Le Vine, eds., *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion.* Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 123- 136.

Georgakopoulou, A. (1995) Everyday Spoken Discourse in Modern Greek Culture: Indexing through Performance. *Kampos. Cambridge Papers in Modern Greek* 3: 15- 44.

---------- (1997) *Narrative Performances: A Study of Modern Greek Storytelling.* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

---------- (1998) Doing Youth in and through Conversational Narratives. In: J. Verschueren, ed., *Language and ideology. Selected Papers from the 6th International Pragmatics Conference.* Antwerp: RPA Research Center, 125- 142.

---------- (2000) On the Sociolinguistics of Popular Films: Funny Characters, Funny Voices. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies.* 18: 119- 133.

---------- (2001) Arguing about the Future: On Indirect Disagreements in Conversations. *Journal of Pragmatics.* 33: 1181- 1900.

Gillespie, M. (1995) *Television, Ethnicity and Cultural Change.* London: Routledge.

Goffman, E. (1961) *Encounters. Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction.* Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

---------- (1963) *Stigma. Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity.* London: Penguin.

---------- (1967) *Interaction Ritual.* NY: Anchor Books.

---------- (1971) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

---------- (1974) *Frame Analysis. An Essay on the Organization of Experience.* Boston: Northeastern University.

---------- (1981) *Forms of Talk.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goodwin, C. (1986) Audience Diversity, Participation and Interpretation. *Text.* 6(3): 283-316.

---------- (1994) Professional Vision. *American Anthropologist.* 96(3): 606- 633.

Goodwin, C. & J. Heritage (1990) Conversation Analysis. *Annual Review of Athropology.* 19: 283-307.

Goodwin, M. H. (1985) The Serious Side of the Jump Rope. Conversational Practices and Social Organization in the Frame of Play. *Journal of American Folklore.* 98(389): 315- 330.

---------- (1990) *He-Said-She-Said. Talk as Social Organization Among Black Children.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

---------- (1998) Games of Stance: Conflict and Footing in Hopscotch. In: S.M. Hoyle & C.T. Adger, eds., *Kids Talk. Strategic Language Use in Later Childhood.* NY: Oxford University Press 23- 46.

Goutsos, D. (2002) English in Cypriot Greek Conversations: A Preliminary Investigation. In: *Selected Papers on Theoretical and Applied Linguistics from the 14th International Symposium* (April 20-22, 2000). University of Thessaloniki, 97- 110.

Gregory, E. (1990) Negotiation as a Critical Factor in Learning to Read in a Second Language. *Language and Education.* 4(2): 103- 115.

Grimshaw, A. (ed.) (1990) *Conflict Talk: Sociolinguistic Investigations in Conversations.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grugeon, E. (2001a) "We Like Singing the Spice Girls Songs … and We Like Tig and Stuck in the Mud": Girls' Traditional Games on Two Playgrounds. In: J.C. Bishop & M. Curtis, eds., *Play Today in the Primary School Playground.* Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 98- 114.

---------- (2001b) Trainee Teachers Research Playground Language. Paper presented at *'Dimensions of Play: Time, Space and Imagination in Children's Oral Culture'*. University of Sheffield (24- 27 July, 2001).

Gumperz, J.J. (1981) The Linguistic Basis of Communicative Competence. In: D. Tannen, ed., *Analyzing Discourse: Text and Talk.* Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 323- 334.

---------- (1982a) *Discourse Strategies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

---------- (ed.) (1982b) *Language and Social Identity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

---------- (1992) Contextualization and Understanding In: A. Duranti & C. Goodwin, eds., *Rethinking Context Language as an Interactive Phenomenon.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 229- 252.

Gutiérrez, K.D., Baquedano-López P. & C. Tejeda (1999) Rethinking Diversity: Hybridity and Hybrid Language Practices in the Third Space. *Mind, Culture and Activity.* 6(4): 286- 303.

Haas-Dyson, A. (1997) Writing Superheroes. Contemporary Childhood, Popular Culture, and Classroom Literacy. New York & London: Teachers College Press.

Hammersley, M. (1976) The Mobilisation of Pupil Attention. In: M. Hammersley & P. Woods, eds., *The Process of Schooling.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul in association with the Open University Press, 104- 115.

Hammersley, M. & Woods, P. (eds.) (1976) *The Process of Schooling.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul in association with the Open University Press.

---------- (eds.) (1984) *Life in School. The Sociology of Pupil Culture.* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Haney, P. C. (2000) Sol, Sombra, y Media Luz: History, Parody and Identity Formation in the Mexican American *Capra.* In: V. Pagliai & M. Farr, eds., Art and the Expression of Complex Identities: Imagining and Contesting Ethnicity in Performance (special issue). *Pragmatics* 10(1): 99- 123.

Hargreaves, D.H. (1976) Reactions to Labelling. In: M. Hammersley & P. Woods, eds., *The Process of Schooling.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul in association with the Open University Press, 201- 207.

Harvey, P. (1992) Bilingualism in the Peruvian Andes. In: D. Cameron et al., eds., *Researching Language: Issues of Power and Method.* London: Routledge, 65- 89.

Hay, J. (2000) Functions of Humour in the Conversations of Men and Women. *Journal of Pragmatics.* 32: 709-742.

Heath, C. (1997) The Analysis of Activities in Face-to-Face Interactions Using Video. In: D. Silverman (ed), *Qualitative Research, Theory, Method and Practice.* London: Sage, 183- 200.

Heath, S. B. (1983) *Ways with Words. Language, Life and Work in Communities and Classrooms.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heller, M. (1998) Code-switching and the Politics of Language. In: Milroy, L. & P. Muysken, eds., *One Speaker Two Languages: Cross- Disciplinary Perspectives on Code-switching.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 158- 174.

---------- (1999) *Linguistic Minorities and Modernity.* London: Longman.

---------- & M. Martin-Jones (eds.) (2001a) Voices of Authority Education and Linguistic Difference. Westport, CT: Albex.

---------- & M. Martin- Jones (eds.) (2001b) Introduction: Symbolic Domination, Education and Linguistic Difference. In: *Voices of Authority Education and Linguistic Difference.* Westport, CT: Albex, 1- 28.

Hicks, D. (1995) Discourse, Learning, and Teaching. In: M.W. Apple, ed., *Review of Research in Education* (Vol. 21). Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association, 49- 95.

Hill, J. & Irvine, T.J. (1992) Introduction. In: J. Hill & T.J. Irvine, eds., *Responsibility and Evidence in Oral Discourse.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1- 23.

Hirschon, R. (1992) Greek Adults' Verbal Play or How toTrain for Caution. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*. 10(1): 35-56.

---------- ([1989]1998*) Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe. The Social Life of Asia Minor Refugees in Piraeus.* NY: Berghahn Books.

---------- (2001) Freedom, Solidarity and Obligation: The Socio-cultural Context of Greek Politeness. In: A. Bayraktaroğlu & M. Sifianou, eds., *Linguistic Politeness Across Boundaries. The Case of Greek and Turkish.* Amsterdam: Benjamins, 17- 42.

Holliday, A. (1999) Small Cultures. *Applied Linguistics.* 20(2): 237-264.

Holmes, J. (ed.) (1999) Community of Practice. *Language in Society* (special issue). 28: 171- 293.

Holmes, J. Roberts M., Verivaki, M. & A. 'Aipolo (1993) Language Maintenance and Shift in Three New Zealand Speech Communities. *Applied Linguistics* 14(1), 1- 23.

Holstein, J.A. & Faber, G.F. (1997) Active Interviewing. In D. Silverman *Qualitative Research, Theory, Method and Practice.* London: Sage, 113- 129.

Hoyle, S.M. (1998) Register and Footing in Role Play. In: S.M. Hoyle & C.T. Adger, eds., *Kids Talk. Strategic Language Use in Later Childhood.* NY: Oxford University Press, 47- 67.

Hoyle, S.M. & Adger, C.T. (eds.) (1998) *Kids Talk. Strategic Language Use in Later Childhood.* NY: Oxford University Press.

Hymes, D. (1974) *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 3- 23.

---------- (1996) *Ethnography, Linguistics, Narrative Inequality. Toward an Understanding of Voice.* London: Taylor and Francis.

Iordannidou, A. & J.K. Androutsopoulos (1995) Teenage Slang in Modern Greek. In: G. Drachman et al., eds., *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Greek Linguistics* (Vol. 1). Graz: W. Neugebauer Verlag, 267- 276.

Jaffe, A. (2000) Comic Performance and the Articulation of Hybrid Identity. In: V. Pagliai & M. Farr, eds., Art and the Expression of Complex Identities:

Imagining and Contesting Ethnicity in Performance (special issue). *Pragmatics* 10(1): 39- 59.

James, A. (1995) Talking of Children and Youth: Language, Socialization and Culture. In: V. Amit-Talai & H. Wuff, eds., *Youth Cultures: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*. London & NY: Routledge, 43- 62.

Jaworski, A. (1993) *The Power of Silence: Social and Pragmatic Perspectives*. London: Sage.

Jefferson, G. (1972) Side Sequences. In: D. Sudnow, ed., *Studies in Social Interaction*. NY: The Free Press, 294-338.

---------- (1984) On the Organization of Laughter in Talk about Troubles. In M. Atkinson & J. Heritage, eds., *Structures of Social Action. Studies in Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

John, V. (1972) Styles of Learning- Styles of Teaching: Reflections on the Education of Navajo Children. In: C.B. Cazden, J.P.Vera & D. Hymes, eds., *Functions of Language in the Classroom*. NY: Teachers College Press, 331- 343.

Jongenburger, W. & J. Aarssen (2001) Linguistic and Cultural Exchange and Appropriation: A Survey Study in a Multi-Ethnic Neighbourhood in the Netherlands. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development*. 22(4), 291- 308.

Jørgensen, J. N. (1999) Notes on the Pragmatic Bilingual Use by Turkish-Danish Grade School Students. In: *Turkish Language in Diaspora* (special edition of TASG News). 49 (November): 47- 52.

---------- (2002) Plurilingual Conversations among Bilingual Adolescents. Paper presented at *Sociolinguistics Symposium 14*, University of Gent (April 4-6 2002).

Joseph, B. D. (1992) Interlectal Awareness as a Reflex of Linguistic Dimensions of Power: Evidence from Greek. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 10(1): 72-85.

Kakavà, C. (1993) *Negotiation of Disagreement by Greeks in Conversation and Classroom Discourse*. Unpublished PhD. thesis, Georgetown University.

Kambanelis, G. (2001) Producing Heteroglossic Classroom (Micro) cultures through Hybrid Discourse Practice. *Linguistics and Education*. 12(1): 85- 125.

Kanakidou, E. (1997) I Ekpaideusi sti Mousoulmaniki Meionotita tis Dutikis Thrakis [The Education of the Muslim Minority in Western Thrace]. Athens: Ellinika Grammata.

Karagiorgi, E. (1996) Taksidia se Diaforetikous Kosmous [Travels in Different Worlds]. In: Vafea, A., ed., *The Multicoloured School. An Experience of Intercultural Education through Art.* Athens: Nisos, 43- 51.

Kallmeyer, W. & I. Keim [forthcoming] Linguistic Variation and the Construction of Social Identity in a German-Turkish Setting. A Case Study of an Immigrant Youth Group in Mannheim, Germany. In: J. K. Androutsopoulos & A. Georgakopoulou, eds, *Discourse Constructions of Youth Identities.* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Katriel, T. (1985) *Brogez*: Ritual and Strategy in Israeli Children's Conflicts. *Language in Society.* 14: 467- 490.

Katsikas, C. & E. Politou (1999) *Ektos "Taksis" to "Diaforetiko"? Tsigganoi, Meionotikoi, Palinnostountes kai Allodapoi stin Elliniki Ekpaideusi* [Outside the "Classroom" are they "Different"? Childen of Roma Origin, Members of the Muslim Minority, Children of Expatriates and Immigrants]. Athens, Gutenberg.

Kazazis, C. (1973) Tahidromos' Turkish Lessons. In: B. B. Kachru et al., eds. *Issues in Linguistics: Papers in Honor of Henry and Renée Kahane.* Urbana, Chicago & London: University of Illinois Press, 394- 408.

---------- 1992) Sunday Greek Revisited. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies.* 10(1): 57- 69.

Kelly, E. (1994) Racism and Sexism in the Playground. In: P. Blatchford & S. Sharp (eds.), *Breaktime and the School: Understanding and Changing Playground Behaviour.* London: Routledge, 63- 74.

Kelly, E. & T. Cohn (1988) *Racism in Schools. New Research Evidence.* Stoke-On-Trent: Trentham.

de Klerk, V. & B. Bosch (1999) Nicknames as Evidence of Verbal Playfulness. *Multilingua.* 18(1): 1-16.

Kochman, T. (1972) Black American Speech Events and Language Program for the Classroom. In: C.B. Cazden, J.P. Vera & D. Hymes, eds., *The Functions of Language in the Classroom.* NY: Teachers College Press, 211- 261.

---------- (1983) The Boundary Between Play and Non-Play in Black Verbal Duelling. *Language in Society.* 12: 329-337.

Koilari, A. (1997) *Ksenos stin Ellada. Metanastes, Glossa kai Koinoniki Entaksi. Stasis tis Ellinikis Koinonias apenanti stous Metanastes Omilites* [Being a Foreigner in Greece. Immigrants, Language and Social Inclusion. Attitudes of the Greek Society toward Immigrants]. Thessaloniki: Paratiritis.

Kondyli, M. (1990) *H Glossiki Allilepidrasi sti Sxoliki Taksi: Analusi Logou mias Asummetris Peristasis Epikoinonias* [Linguistic Interaction in the

Classroom. Discourse Analysis of an Asymmetrical Communication Situation]. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Ioannina.

Kramsch, C. (2000) Language and Culture. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Labov, W. (1972) Rules of Ritual Insults. In: D. Sudnow, ed., *Studies in Social Interaction*. NY: The Free Press, 120-169.

Lafazani, D. (ed.) (1997) Emeis kai oi 'Alloi'. H Diaxeirisi tis Ethnopolitistikis Diaforetikotitas [We and the 'Others'. Dealing with Ethno-political Differentiation]. *Suxrona Thema* 63 (April- June).

Lagopoulou, V. & G. Athanasopoulos (1998) *Parousiasi tou 87ou Dimitikou Sxoleiou sta Plaisia Episkepsis apo to Programma Comenius* [Presentation of the 87th Primary School in the Context of a School Visit from the Comenius Programme]. Primary School of Votanikos, Athens.

Lave, J. & E. Wenger (1991) *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leary, J.P. (1980) White Ritual Insults. In: H. Schwartzman, ed., *Play and Culture*. West Point, NY: Leisure Press, 125- 139.

Le Page, R.B. & Tabouret-Keller, A. (1985) *Acts of Identity: Creole-based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Le Vine, R.A. ([1984]1988) Properties of Culture: An Ethnographic View. In: R.A. Shweder & R.A. Le Vine, eds., *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 67- 87.

Li, W. (1994) *Three Generations, Two Languages, One Family. Language Choice and Language Shift in a Chinese Community in Britain*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Loizos, P. & E. Papataxiarchis (eds.) (1991) *Contested Identities: Gender and Kinship in Modern Greece*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Lydaki, A. (1997) Balame kai Roma. Oi Tsigganoi ton Ano Liosion. [Balame and Roma. The Roma of Ano Losion. Athens: Kastaniotis.

---------- (1998) Oi Tsigganoi stin Poli. Megalonontas stin Agia Varvara [Roma in the Cities. Growing up in Agia Varvara]. Athens: Kastaniotis.

Lytra, V. [forthcoming] Nicknames and Teasing: A Case Study of a Linguistically and Culturally Mixed Peer Group. In: J. K. Androutsopoulos & A. Georgakopoulou, eds, *Discourse Constructions of Youth Identities*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

---------- (2002a) 'There are ((laughing)) Πεπόνια ((melons))': The Use of Greek in English Language Instruction. In: *Proceeding of the 5th International Conference on Greek Linguistics.* Sorbonne, (13- 15, September 2001), 67-70.

---------- (2002b) 'Gel Bana': One-liners and the Negotiation of a Linguistically and Culturally Mixed Peer Group Identity. Paper present at *Sociolinguistics Symposium 14*. University of Gent, (4- 6 April 2002)

---------- (2002c) Colluding to Exclude: The Peer Group and the Researcher. Paper presented at: *BAAL 2002*. University of Cardiff, (12- 14 September 2002).

---------- (2001a) Code-switching among Primary School Pupils: Three Languages in Contact. In: *Selected Papers: Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference of the Hellenic Association for the Study of English.* Aristotle University, Thessaloniki (May 7-10, 1998), 103- 112.

---------- (2001b) Making Sense of Everyday School Experience: Negotiating Interactional Space and Peer-Group Alliances. In: *Proceedings of the 4th International Conference on Greek Linguistics.* University of Cyprus, Nicosia (September 17-19, 1999), 573- 580.

MacBeth, D. H. (1990) Classroom Order as Practical Action: The Making and the Un-making of a Quiet Reproach. *British Journal of Sociology of Education.* 11(2): 189- 214.

---------- (1991) Teacher Authority as Practical Action. *Linguistics and Education.* 3: 281-313.

Mackridge, P. (1992) Games of Power and Solidarity- Commentary. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies.* 10(1): 111- 120.

Magos, C. with the collaboration of A. Kanaki (1996) Twenty-one Princes in the Same Neighbourhood. In: A. Vafea, ed., *The Multicoloured School An Experience of Intercultural Education through Art.* Athens, Nisos: 49- 56.

Makri-Tsilipakou, M. (1994a) Interruption Revisited: Affiliative vs. Non-affiliative Intervention. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 21: 401- 426.

---------- (1994b) Greek Women and the Public Destruction of Face. In: M. Bucholtz et al., eds., *Proceedings of the 3rd Berkeley Women and Language Conference.* University of Berkeley, (April 8- 10, 1994), 462-477.

---------- (1997a) Neoelliniki kai Ksenoglosses Monades: Daneismos I Allagh Kodika?' [Modern Greek and Foreign Lexical Items: Borrowing or Code-switching? In: A. Mozer, ed., *Greek Linguistics '97. Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Greek Language*. Athens: Ellinika Grammata.

---------- (1997b) Q: Do you Use Foreign Words when you Speak [in Greek]? A: Never! [laughter]. In: A.–F. Christidis, ed., *"Strong" and "Weak" Languages in the European Union Aspects of Linguistic Hegemonism* (Vol. 1). Thessaloniki: Centre for the Greek Language, 448-457.

---------- (2001) Congratulations and bravo! In: A. Bayraktaroğlu & M. Sifianou, eds., *Linguistic Politeness Across Boundaries. The Case of Greek and Turkish.* Amsterdam: Benjamins, 137- 176.

Manolopoulou-Sergi, E. (2001) Motivation and Attitudes in Foreign Language Learning (FLL) with Specific Reference to the EFL Classrooms in Greek State Junior High Schools. Unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Athens.

Maratzides, N. & G. Mavromatis (1999) Ethnotiki Taftotita kai Politiki Sumperifora. H Eklogiki Sumperifora mias Omadas Mousoulmanon Tsigganon tis Thrakis [Ethnic Identity and Electoral Behaviour: The Electoral Behaviour of a Group of Muslin Roma in Thrace]. *Fulla Ergasias stin Politiki Epistimi.* Thessalokini: University of Macedonia, 1- 22.

Marsh, K. (2001) It's Not All Black and White: The Influence of the Media, the Classroom and Immigrant Groups on Children's Playground Singing Games. In: J.C. Bishop & M. Curtis, eds., *Play Today in the Primary School Playground.* Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 81- 97.

Martin-Jones, M. (1989) Language, Power and Linguistic Minorities: The Need for an Alternative Approach to Bilingualism, Language Maintenance and Shift. In: R. Grillo ed., *Social Anthropology and the Politics of Language.* London, Routledge: 106- 125.

---------- & M. Saxena (2001) Turn-Taking and the Positioning of Bilingual Participants in Classroom Discourse: Insights from Primary Schools in England. In: M. Heller & M. Martin-Jones, eds., *Voices of Authority, Education and Linguistic Difference.* Westport, CT: Albex, 117- 138.

Maybin, J. (1991) Children's Informal Talk and the Construction of Meaning. *English in Education.* 25(2): 34- 49.

---------- (1994) Children's Voices: Talk, Knowledge and Identity. In: D. Graddol, J. Maybin & B. Stierer, eds., *Researching Language and Literacy in Social Contexts.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters in association with The Open University, 131- 149.

McDermott, R.P. & Tylbor, H. (1995) On the Necessity of Collusion in Conversation. In: D. Tedlock & B. Mannheim, eds., *The Dialogic Emergence of Culture.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 218- 236.

McHoul, A. (1978) The Organization of Turns at Formal Talk in the Classroom. *Language and Society.* 7: 183-213.

---------- (1990) The Organization of Repair in Classroom Talk. *Language and Society.* 19: 349- 377.

Mehan, H. (1979) *Learning Lessons. Social Organization in the Classroom.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

---------- (1985) The Structure of Classroom Discourse. In: T.A. van Dijk, ed., *Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (Vol. 3). London: Academic Press, 119-131.

Miller, P. (1986) Teasing as Language Socialization & Verbal Play in a White Working-Class Community. In: B.B. Schieffelin & E. Ochs, eds., *Language Socialization Across Cultures.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 199-212.

Miller, J. & B. Glassner (1997) The 'Inside' and the 'Outside'. Finding Realities in Interviews. In: D. Silverman, ed., *Qualitative Research, Theory, Method and Practice*. London: Sage, 99- 112.

Miller, P. & L.L. Sperry (1987) The Socialization of Anger and Aggression. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly.* 33(1): 1-31.

Milroy, L., Li, W. & Moffat, S. (1991) Discourse Patterns and Fieldwork Strategies in Urban Settings: Some Methodological Problems for Researchers in Bilingual Communities. *Jounral of Multilingual and Multicultural Development.* 12(4): 287-300.

Milroy, L. (1987) *Observing and Analyzing Natural Language.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Milroy, L. & J. Milroy (1992) Social Network and Social Class: Toward an Integrated Sociolinguistic Model. *Language in Society* 21: 1-26.

Minks, A. (1999) Growing and Grooving to a Steady Beat: Pop Music in Fifth-Graders' Social Lives. *Yearbook for Traditional Music*. 31: 77- 101.

Mishler, E. G. (1991) Representing Discourse: The Rhetoric of Transcription. *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 1(4): 255- 280.

Mitchell-Kernan, C. (1972) Signifying and Marking: Two Afro-American Speech Acts. In: J. Gumperz & D. Hymes, eds., *Directions in Sociolinguistics. The Ethnography of Communication.* NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 161-179.

Mitilis, A. (1998) Oi Meionotites mesa sti Sxoliki Taksi. Mia Sxesi Allilepidrasis [Minorities in the Classroom. An Two-way Relationship] Athens: Odusseas.

Moerman, M. (1974) Accomplishing Ethnicity. In: R. Turner, ed., *Ethnomethodology.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 54- 68.

---------- (1988) Talking Culture: Ethnography and Conversation Analysis. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Morgan, J., O' Neill, C. & R. Harré (1979) *Nicknames Their Origins & Social Consequences*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Morley, D. & K. Robins (1995) *Spaces of Identity. Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries*. London: Routledge.

Murray, S.O. (1983) Ritual and Personal Insults in Stigmatised Subcultures. Gay-Black-Jew. *Maledicta: The International Journal of Verbal Aggression*. 7: 189- 211.

National Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs in collaboration with the University of Athens (1998a) *Programma gia tin Anavathmisi tis Ekpaideusis tis Mousoulmanikis Meionotitas* [Educational Reform Project for the Muslim Minority]. Athens.

National Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs in collaboration with the University of Ioannina (1998b) *Ekpaideusi Tsigganopaidon* [Educational Reform Project for Children of Roma origin]. Ioannina.

National Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs in collaboration with the University of Athens (1998c) *Programma gia ti Sxoliki kai Koinoniki Entaksi Palinnostounton kai Allodapon* [Education Reform and Social Inclusion of Greek Expatriates and Immigrants]. Athens.

National Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs in collaboration with the University of Crete (1998d) *Paideia Omogenon* [Education and the Greek Diaspora]. Rethumno.

Nardini, G. (2000) When Husbands Die: Joke-telling in an Italian Ladies' Club in Chicago. In: V. Pagliai & M. Farr, eds., Art and the Expression of Complex Identities: Imagining and Contesting Ethnicity in Performance (special issue). *Pragmatics* 10(1): 87- 97.

Narayan, K. (1993) How Native is a "Native" Anthropologist? *American Anthropologist* 95(3): 671- 681.

Neethling, S.J. (1994) Xhosa Nicknames. *South-African Journal of African Languages*. 14: 88- 92.

Nikolaou, V. (1997) Duo Takseis ektos Taksis. Mathaino Ereunontas [Two Classes outside the Classroom. Learning through Researching]. Paper presented in *"Taksideuontas sto Diplano Thranio". Skepseis kai Draseis apo to Xoro tis Diapolitismikis Ekpaideusis* [Travelling to the Next Desk. Action Research in Inter-cultural Education]. University of Athens (13 May 1997).

Norrick, N.R. (1993) *Conversational Joking. Humour in Everyday Talk*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

---------- (1994) Repetition as a Conversational Joking Strategy. In B. Johnstone, ed., *Repetition in Discourse: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Vol. 1), 15-28.

Norton, B. (ed.) (1997) Language, Identity, and the Ownership of English (special issue). *TESOL Quarterly* 31(3), 409- 450.

---------- (2000) Identity and Language Learning. Gender, Ethnicity and Educational Change. Harlow, England: Longman.

Ochs, E. (1979) Transcription as Theory. In: E. Ochs & B.B. Schieffelin, eds., *Developmental Pragmatics.* NY: Academic Press, 43- 72.

---------- (1993) Constructing Social Identity: A Language Socialization Perspective. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*. 26(3): 287- 306.

Opie, I. & P. Opie (1959) *The Lore and Language of School Children* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pagliai, V. (2000) Lands I Came to Sing: Negotiating Identities and Places in the Tuscan "Contrasto". In: V. Pagliai & M. Farr, eds., Art and the Expression of Complex Identities: Imagining and Contesting Ethnicity in Performance (special issue). *Pragmatics* 10(1): 125- 146.

Pagliai, V. & M. Farr (eds.) (2000) Art and the Expression of Complex Identities: Imagining and Contesting Ethnicity in Performance (special issue). *Pragmatics* 10(1): 125- 146.

Panourgia, N. (1995) *Fragments of Death Fables of Identity. An Athenian Anthropology.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Papademetre, L. (1994) Discourse Marking in Australian Greek: Code Interaction and Communicative Resourcing. In: I. Philippaki-Warburton et al., *Themes in Greek Linguistics. Papers from the International Conference on Greek Linguistics.* University of Reading, (September 1993). Amsterdam: Benjamins, 349- 356.

Papaefthymiou-Lytra, S. (1986) Humour and Laughter in the Foreign Language Classroom. In: *G.A.L.A. Proceedings: Foreign Language Learning and Interpersonal Tolerance and Understanding* (Vol. 4), 76- 88.

---------- (1990) Explorations in Foreign Language Classroom Discourse. Athens: Parousia/University of Athens.

---------- (1995) Culture and the Teaching of Foreign Languages: A Case Study. In: J. Alatis et al., eds., *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 1995.* Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 132- 153.

---------- (1997) Learner Autonomy and Language Switch in Self-Learning Foreign Language Contexts. In: M. Müller-Verweyen, ed., *New Developments in Foreign Language Learning, Self-management, Autonomy.* Munich: Goethe- Institut, 103- 112.

Patrona, M. (2001) *Constructing the Expert in Greek Television Discussions: A Study Based on the Analysis of Conversation.* Unpublished PhD thesis, King's College, University of London.

Pavlidou, T.-S. (1991) Cooperation and Choice of Linguistic Means: Some Evidence from the Use of the Subjunctive in Modern Greek. *Journal of Pragmatics.* 15: 11- 42.

---------- (1999) Glossiki Protovoulia sti Sxoliki Diepidrasi [Verbal Initiative in Classroom Interaction]. In: A. Mozer, ed., *Greek Linguistics '97: Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Greek Language.* Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 648- 656.

---------- (2001) Politeness in the Classroom? Evidence from a Greek High School. In: A. Bayraktaroğlu & M. Sifianou, eds., *Linguistic Politeness across Boundaries. The Case of Greek and Turkish.* Amsterdam: Benjamins, 103- 136.

Payne, G.C.F. (1976) Making the Lesson Happen: An Ethnomethodological Analysis. In: M. Hammersley & P. Woods, eds., *The Process of Schooling.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul in association with the Open University Press, 33-40.

Payne, G. & D. Hustler (1980) Teaching the Class: The Practical Management of the Cohort. *British Journal of Sociology of Education.* 1(1): 49- 66.

Peräkylä, A. (1997) Reliability and Validity in Research Based on Tapes and Transcripts. In: D. Silverman, ed., *Qualitative Research, Theory, Method and Practice*. London: Sage, 201- 220.

Petrits, A. (1991) Addressing in Modern Greek: Evidence from a Case Study in the Athens Central Market. *Sociolinguistics.* 19: 125-144.

Philips, S. (1972) Participant Structures and Communicative Competence: Warm Springs Children in Community and Classroom. In: C.B. Cazden, J.P. Vera & D. Hymes, eds., *Functions of Language in the Classroom.* NY: Teachers College Press, 370- 394.

---------- (1983) *The Invisible Culture. Communication in Classroom and Community on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation.* NY: Longman.

Pratt, M.L. (1987) Linguistic Utopias. In: N. Fabb et al., eds., *The Linguistics of Writing: Arguments between Language and Literature.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 48- 66.

Pollis, A. (1992) Greek National Identity: Religious Minorities, Rights, and European Norms. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*. 10: 171- 195.

Pomerantz, A. & Fehr, B.J. (1997) Conversation Analysis: An Approach to the Study of Social Action as Sense Making Practices. In: van Dijk, ed, *Discouse as Social Interaction.* London: Sage, 64- 91.

Rampton, B. (1992) Scope for Empowerment in Sociolinguistcs? In: D. Cameron et al., eds., *Researching Language: Issues of Power and Method.* London: Routledge, 29- 64.

---------- (1995) *Crossing: Language and Ethnicity among Adolescents*. London: Longman.

---------- (1999) Deutsch in Inner London and the Animation of an Instructed Foreign Language. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 3(4): 480- 504.

---------- (2000) Speech Community. *Handbook of Pragmatics 1998.* J. Verscheuren et al., eds., Amsterdam: Benjamins: 1- 34.

Regan, S.L. (1990) Verbal Play and Multiple Goals in the Gynaecological Exam Interaction. In: K. Tracy & N. Coupland, eds., *Multiple Goals in Discourse.* Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 67- 84.

Ribeiro, B.T. (1993) Framing in Psychotic Discourse. In: D. Tannen, ed., *Framing in Discourse.* NY: Oxford University Press, 77- 113.

---------- (1996) Conflict Talk in a Psychiatric Discharge Interview. In: C.R. Caldas-Coulthard & M. Coulthard, eds., *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis.* London: Routledge, 177- 193.

Rogers, C. & Kutnick, P. (eds.) (1990) *The Social Psychology of the Primary School.* London: Routledge.

Romaine, S. (1998) *Bilingualism* (second edition). Oxford: Blackwell.

Russell, H. assisted by Davey G. & J. Factor (1986) *Play and Friendships in a Multi-cultural Playground*. Melbourne: Australia Children's Folklore Publications.

Rymes, B. (1996) Naming as Social Practice: The Case of Little Creeper from Diamond Street. *Language and Society.* 25: 237- 260.

Sacks, H., Scheggloff, E. & Jefferson, G. (1974) The Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation. *Language.* 50(4): 696- 735.

Sarangi, S. & M. Baynham (eds.) (1996) Discursive Construction of Educational Identities: Alternative Readings (special issue). *Language and Education* 10(2&3): 77- 82.

Sharrock & Anderson (1982) On the Demise of the Native: Some Observations on and a Proposal for Ethnography. *Human Studies* 5: 119- 135.

Schieffelin, B.B. (1973) Getting it Together. An Ethnographic Approach to the Study of the Development of Communicative Competence. In E. Ochs and B.B. Schieffelin (eds), *Developmental Pragmatics*.NY: Academic Press, 73- 105.

---------- (1986) Teasing and Shaming in Kaluli Children's Interactions. In B.B. Schieffelin & E. Ochs, eds., *Language Socialization Across Cultures.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 165-181.

Schieffelin B.B. & E. Ochs (eds.) (1986) *Language Socialization Across Cultures.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schiffrin, D. (1984) Jewish Argument as Sociability. *Language in Society.* 13: 311-335.

---------- (1997) *Approaches to Discourse.* Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Sebba, M. (1993) *London Jamaican.* London: Longman.

---------- (1986) London Jamaican and Black London English. In: D. Sutcliff & A. Wong, eds., *Language of the Black Experience Cultural Expression through Word and Sound in the Carrebean and Black Britain.* Oxford: Blackwell, 149- 167.

Sella-Mazi, E. (1992) La Minorité Turcophone Musulmane du Nord-Est de la Grèce et les Dernières Évolutions Politiques dans les Balkans. *Plurilinguismes.* 4: 203-231.

---------- (1993) Stoixeia Antiparavolikis Grammatikis Ellinikis-Tourkikis. H Elliniki sta Meionotika Sxoleia tis Thrakis [Greek-Turkish Contrastive Grammar. Greek in the Minority Schools of Thrace]. Athens, OEDB.

---------- (1995) L' Alternance des Langues Obligatoire ou Non ? Le cas des Bilingues Grec-Turc de Thrace. In: *Actes des XX Colloque International de Linguistique Fonctionnelle.* Liège, Belgique. (13-19 Juillet, 1995), 97-101.

---------- (1997a) Linguistic Contact Today: The Case of the Muslim Minority in Northeastern Greece. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language.* 123:115-143.

---------- (1997b) Diglossia kai Oligotero Omiloumenes Glosses stin Ellada [Bilingualism and Lesser Spoken Languages in Greece]. In: Tsitselikis, K. & D. Christopoulos, eds., *To Meionotiko Fainomeno stin Ellada. Mia Sumvoli ton Koinonikon Epistimon* [The Minority Phenomenon in Greece. A Social Scientific Approach] Athens, Kritiki: 349-413.

---------- (1999a) *La Minorité Musulmane Turcophone de Gréce: Approche Sociolinguistique d' une Communauté Bilingue*. Athènes: Trohalia.

---------- (1999b) Code-switching in the Greek-Turkish bilingual community. In : *Turkish Language in Diaspora* (special edition of TASG News). 49 (November), 73- 78.

Sharrock, W.W. & Anderson, R.J. (1982) On the Demise of the Native: Some Observations on and a Proposal for Ethnography. *Human Studies.* 5: 119- 135.

Sherzer, J. (1993) On Puns, Comebacks, Verbal Dueling and Play Languages. Speech Play in Balinese Verbal Life. *Language and Society.* 22: 217- 233.

Shuman, A. (1992) "Get outa my Face": Entitlement and Authoritative Discourse. In: J. Hill & T. J. Irvine, eds., *Responsibility and Evidence in Oral Discourse.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 135- 160.

Sifianou, M. (1992) *Politeness Phenomena in England and Greece.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

---------- (1995) Do We Need to Be Silent to Be Extremely Polite? Silence and FTAs. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 5(1): 95- 110.

---------- & A. Tzanne (1998) Silence as a Face-saving Strategy in Interaction. In: Cacoullos, A. R. & M. Sifianou, eds., *Selected Papers of the Second HASE International Conference on "Autonomy of Logos: Anatomies of Silence"*. Athens: University of Athens, 299- 309.

Sivlerman, D. (ed.) (1997) *Qualitative Research, Theory, Method and Practice.* London: Sage.

SinClair, J. & M. Coulthard (1975) *Towards an Analysis of Discourse: The Language of Teachers and Pupils.* London: Oxford University Press.

Skehan, P. (1998) *A Cognitive Approach to Language Learning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Skehan, P. & P. Foster (1997) The Influence of Second Language Planning and Task Type on Second Language Performance. *Language Teaching Research.* 1(3): 185- 212.

Soysal, Y. & V. Antoniou (2000) A Common Regional Past? Portrayals of the Byzantine and Ottoman Heritages from Within and Without. Paper presented at *The Southeast European Joint History Project Textbook Committee: 'Teaching Sensitive and Controversial Issues in the History of South-East Europe'*. Istanbul, (21- 23 September, 2000).

Speier, M. (1976) The Child as Conversationalist: Some Culture Contact Features of Conversational Interactions. In: M. Hammersley & P. Woods, eds., *The Process of Schooling.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul in association with the Open University Press, 98- 103.

Stapleton, K.R. (1998) From the Margins to Mainstream: The Political Power of Hip-Hop. *Media, Culture and Society.* 20: 219- 234.

Stavros, S. (1995) The Legal Status of Minorities in Greece Today: The Adequacy of their Protection in the Light of Current Human Rights Perceptions. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies.* 13(1): 1- 13.

Straehle, C.A. (1993) "Samuel?" "Yes, Dear?" Teasing and Conversational Rapport. In: D. Tannen, ed., *Framing in Discourse*. NY: Oxford University Press, 210-230.

Tamis, A.M. (1990) Language Change, Language Maintenance and Ethnic Identity: The Case of Greek in Australia. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development.* 6: 481-503.

Tannen, D. (1984) *Conversational Style: Analyzing Talk among Friends*. Norwood, NJ: Albex.

---------- (1986) *That's not what I Meant: How Conversational Style Makes or Breaks your Relations with Others.* London: J. M. Dent & Sons.

---------- (1989) *Talking Voices: Repetition, Dialogue, and Imagery in Conversational Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

---------- (1990) Silence as Conflict Management in Fiction and Drama: Pinter's *Betrayal* and a short story, *"Great Wits"*. In: A. Grimshaw, ed., *Conflict Talk.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 260- 279.

---------- (ed.) (1993) *Framing in Discourse.* NY: Oxford University Press.

---------- ([1979]1993) What's a Frame? Surface Evidence for Underlying Expectations. In: D. Tannen, ed., *Framing in Discourse.* NY: Oxford University Press, 14- 56.

Tannen, D. & C. Kakava (1992) Power and Solidarity in Modern Greek Conversation: Disagreeing to Agree. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies.* 10: 11- 34.

Tannen, D. & M. Saville- Troike (eds.) (1985) *Perspectives on Silence.* Norwood, NJ: Albex.

Tannen, D. & S. Wallat ([1987]1993) Interactive Frames and Knowledge Schemas in Interaction: Examples from a Medical Examination/ Interview. In: D. Tannen, ed., *Framing in Discourse.* NY: Oxford University Press, 57- 76.

Tannock, S. (1998) Noisy Talk: Conversation and Collaboration in a Youth Writing Group. In: S. M. Hoyle & C. T. Adger, eds., *Kids Talk. Strategic Language Use in Later Childhood.* NY: Oxford University Press. 241- 265.

---------- (1999) Working with Insults: Discourse and Difference in an Inner-city Youth Organization. *Discourse and Society.* 10(3): 317- 350.

Tholander, M. (2002) *Doing Morality in School. Teasing, Gossip and Subteaching as Collaborative Action.* PhD thesis, Linköpings University.

Thorne, B. (1986) Girls and Boys Together ... But Mostly Apart: Gender Arrangements in Elementary Schools. In: W.W. Hartup & Z. Rubin, eds, *Relationships and Development*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 167-184.

Troubeta, S. (2001) Kataskevazontas Taftotites gia tous Mousoulmanous tis Thrakis. To Paradeigma ton Pomakon kai ton Tsigganon [Constructing Identities for the Muslims of Thrace. The Case of Pomaks and Roma]. Athens, Kritiki.

Trudgill, P. (1992) Ausbau Sociolinguistics of Greek as a Minority and Majority Language. In: *Proceedings of the 6th International Symposium on the Description and /or Comparison of Greek and English.* Thessaloniki: School of English, 214-234.

Trudgill, P. & G. Tsavaras (1977) Why Albanian-Greeks are not Albanians: Language Shift in Attica and Biotia. In: H. Giles, ed., *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations.* London: Academic Press, 171-184.

Trueba, H. & P.G. Wright (1981) A Challenge for Ethnographic Researchers in Bilingual Settings: Analyzing Spanish/English Classroom Interactions. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development.* 2(4):243- 257.

Tsitselikis, K. & D. Christopoulos (1997) eds. *To Meionotiko Fainomeno stin Ellada. Mia Sumvoli ton Koinonikon Epistimon* [The Minority Phenomenon in Greece. A Social Scientific Approach]. Athens, Kritiki.

Tsitsipis, L. (1991) Terminal-Fluent Speaker Interaction and the Contextualization of Deviant Speech. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 15: 153-173.

---------- (1995) The Coding of Linguistic Ideology in Arvanitika (Albanian) Language Shift: Congruent and Contradictory Discourse. *Athropological Linguistics.* 37(4): 541-577.

---------- (1998) *A Linguistic Anthropology of Praxis and Language Shift. Arvanitika (Albanian) and Greek in Contact.* Oxford: Clarendon.

Tsokalidou, R. (1992) Language Choice and Use among Second Generation Greek-Australians. *Journal of Applied Linguistics.* 8: 144-169.

---------- (1994) Women on the Cusp- A Case of Bilingual Women. In: A. Pauwels & J. Winter, eds., *Working Papers on Language, Gender & Sexism.* 4(2): 46- 62.

Turner, V. (1974) Liminal to Liminoid in Play, Flow and Ritual. *Rice University Studies.* 60: 53- 92.

Vafea, A. (ed.) 1996 *The Multicoloured School. An Experience of Intercultural Education through Art*. Athens: Nisos.

Vakalios, T. in collaboration with E. Kanakidou, N. Panagiotidi & V. Papagianni (1997) *To Provlima tis Diapolitismikis Ekpaideusis sti Dutiki Thraki. I Periptosi tis Mousoulmanikis Meionotitas me Emfasi tous Pomakous* [The Problem of Inter-cultural Education in Western Thrace. The Case of the Muslim Minority with Special Reference to Pomaks] Athens: Gutenberg.

Valiouli, M. & A. Psaltou-Jocey (1995) "Pame Platia?" I Chrisi i Apousia tou Emprothetou Arthrou ["Let's go Square" The Use or Absence of the Article]. In: *Studies in Greek Linguistics. Proceedings of the 15th Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics*. Thessaloniki, 292- 303.

Vygotsky, L. (1978) Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Wenger, E. (1998) *Communities of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Woods, P. (1976) Having a Laugh: An Antidote to Schooling. In: M. Hammersley & P. Woods, eds., *The Process of Schooling*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul in association with the Open University Press: 178- 187.

Zegginis, E. C. (1998) *O Bektasismos sti Dutiki Thraki. Sumvoli stin Istoria tis Diadosis tou Mousoulmanismou ston Elladiko Xoro* [The Bektaşi Movement in Western Thrace. A Treatise in The Spread of Islam in Greece]. Thessaloniki: IMXAç

---------- (1994) *Oi Mousoulmanoi Athigganoi tis Thrakis* [The Muslim Roma of Thrace]. Thessaloniki: IMXA

Zentella, A. C. (1997) *Growing up Bilingual. Puerto Rican Children in New York.* Malden, Mass: Blackwell.